SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIETY & CULTURE DURING THE MUGHAL AGE

1526—1707

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With a Foreword

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Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. Ltd.,
Educational Publishers,
Agra.
1955

Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of the Panjab,
1951

TO

MY MOTHER

WHOSE MEMORY WILL EVER
LIGHT MY WAY

FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Pran Nath Chopra's pioneer work on the cultural history of the Mughal Age, 1526—1707. While there are several excellent monographs on the political history of the period from the pen of elder Indian historians, no one ever before undertook the difficult but most necessary task of writing on the basis of contemporary sources a history of the Indian society in the age of the Great Mughals. Several years ago Dr. Pran Nath Chopra began this work on my suggestion and under my supervision at the History Department of the Panjab University, Lahore, and although it was interrupted for some time on account of the partition of the country and the establishment of Pakistan in August, 1947, when both of us had to migrate from Lahore, he persevered on with single-minded devotion and completed and submitted it to the University of the Panjab (India) as his Ph. D. thesis for which degree it was unanimously approved by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. C. Collin Davis of the University of Oxford.

This book is a scientific history on some aspects of the society and culture during the Mughal Age and is based on a careful and critical examination of original sources in Persian and English, Hindi and Urdu. It embodies the result of Dr. Chopra's patient and painstaking research and fills a long gap in the history of Mediaeval India. I have no doubt that it will be cordially welcomed by the literary circles in India and abroad.

Agra College, Agra — A. L. SRIVASTAVA
November 7, 1955.

CONTENTS

PAGES

INTRODUCTION ... ... i-iii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ... ... i-iv

CHAPTER I—DRESS, TOILETS AND ORNAMENTS

General—Dress of the Royalty—Dress of the Upper Class—Dress of Common People—Head Dress—Footwear—Women's Dress—Soaps and Dyes—Perfumes and Oil—Men's Toilet—Women's Toilet—Women's Ornaments—Men's Ornaments 1—29

CHAPTER II—DIET, TASTES AND INTOXICANTS

Restrictions on Meat Diet—Sweets, Fruits and Drinks—Diet of the Common People—Diet of Upper and Middle Classes—Environment of the Hindu Kitchen—Table Manners of the Muslims—Intoxicants—Prohibition of Wine—Mughals' Addiction to Drink—Wines—Opium—Other Drugs—Tobacco—Betels—Tea and Coffee ... 30—50

CHAPTER III—GAMES, SPORTS AND OTHER AMUSEMENTS

Playing Cards—Chess—Chaupar—Chandal Mandal—Nard—Pachisi — Gutis--Chaugan—Wrestling—Boxing—Races—Martial Sports—Hunting—Fishing—Boating—Riding — Animal Fights—Magic Shows and Acrobatics—Dancing—Music Theatrical Performances — Story Telling—Gardening—Fairs—Smoking ... 51—77

CHAPTER IV—FESTIVALS AND FAIRS

Nauroz—Birthday Celebrations—Mina or Fancy Bazars—Ab-i-Pashan — Vasant—Holi—Raksha-bandhan—Dasehra — Diwali—Shivratri—Other Hindu Festivals — Muharram — Id-i-Milad—Shab-i-Barat — Id-ul-Fitr—Id-ul-Zuha—Other Muslim Festivals—Fairs ... 78—102

CHAPTER V—POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

The Purdah System — No Purdah for Common Women — Unwelcome Daughters — Polygamy Among Rich Muslims—Hindus Monogamous—Child Marriage—As a Wife—As a Widow—As a Mother—Her Economic Position—Her Role in Literature, Art and Administration — High Character of Hindu Women ... 103—127

PAGES

CHAPTER VI—EDUCATION

Primary Education—Higher Seats of Hindu Learning—Banaras—Nadia—Mithila—Other Centres of Learning—Higher Seats of Muslim Learning—Agra—Delhi—Lahore—Jaunpur and Gujarat—Kashmir—Other Centres of Islamic Learning—Mixed Schools—Duration of Courses, Tests and Certificates — Scholarship Judged by One's Teacher's Reputation—Learned Disputations—The Courses of Study—Female Education—Writing Paper—Calligraphy—Books, Rare and Costly—Libraries ... 128—166

APPENDIX A ... ... 167—169

APPENDIX B ... ... 170—171

BIBLIOGRAPHY ... ... 172—197

INDEX ... ... 199—204

INTRODUCTION

India inherits an ancient civilisation which is the result of diverse forces operating for many millenniums. Many races that from time to time found their way to this country contributed consciously or unconsciously to its evolution. It is therefore endowed with that dynamic character which explains its exceptional vitality. We possess the will to accept and the power to assimilate whatever appeals to us as good in the life and thought of the peoples with whom we happen to come into contact.

The foundation of our culture is laid deep on the granite rock of the thought and the institutions of the ancient Aryans. Others have added to its variety and richness from time to time. We must not, however, forget that when we speak of the Mughal culture or Indian culture during the Mughal age, we do not mean that it was something entirely new or radically different from the culture of the preceding or succeeding ages. The Indian culture in all ages has been fundamentally the same and differences, which we notice at different times are, generally speaking, those of detail and not of the essence. Take, for example, the dress or mode of life of the Indian people. Great political upheavals and economic and military revolutions have hardly brought about any radical change in the dress of the mass of our people. Although some new elements, such as shirt and skirt, *achkan* and *shalwar* have added to the variety and colour of our costume, the indispensable *dhoti* and the graceful *sari* are as popular today as they were in the days of the Buddha and Mahavira. The ultra-modern may take pride in his European apparel, but he, too, relapses at times to the garb of his ancestors when

homely comfort or religious conventions so demand. So, too, with food and drink, mode and style of living, and habits and thoughts. Seldom have our people taken to European diet. During the Mughal age not many among us adopted the food of our rulers. Many of the upper and middle class Hindus, no doubt, borrowed something of the Mughal dress, language and vocabulary, besides the Mughal mode of life and behaviour, but the masses continued to follow their traditional path.

During the Sultanate period (1206—1526) there was a general tendency towards aloofness. Under the Mughals, on the other hand, Hindus and Muslims came nearer together and learnt to appreciate each other's good points in the congenial atmosphere established by the wise and liberal administration of Akbar. His policy to make the court an emblem of all that was best in Hinduism and Islam gave birth to the national literature, architecture, music and painting which became the common heritage of all the people living in the country. The two communities also influenced each other in the field of ideas, in the celebration of fairs and festivals, in the ceremoninal of marriage and in the manners of the court. Unfortunately, however, the movement for fusion suffered from certain limitations and functioned under certain handicaps. Yet the process of borrowing of each other's cultures went on under the stress of circumstances born out of a common life under the same Indian sun. In consequence a great homogeneity is visible in the realm of art such as architecture, music and painting and economic forces hammered out a common pattern, but social customs and personal laws still continued, in various degrees, to be influenced by the religious creeds. An attempt will be made to deal with them in the succeeding volume.

In conclusion let me take the opportunity of acknowledging my deep debt of gratitude to

my tutor Dr. A. L. Srivastava who has throughout helped me in my research and supervised this work from the beginning to the end. But for his guidance and personal interest in the progress of my research work this thesis could hardly have been written, submitted for a doctorate degree or published. I am particularly grateful to Dewan Anand Kumar, Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, for his generous patronage and grant to me of a research scholarship without which it would hardly have been possible for me to carry the work to completion. I am also obliged to Dr. S. N. Sen and Dr. Syed Mahmud for their valuable suggestions for the improvement of this work. I am thankful to Miss A. G. Stock for reading the manuscript of this book before it was sent to the Press and to Miss Raj Usha for helping me in the preparation of the index. Shri K. C. Chopra, my father, helped me all along and took great pains in reading the proofs. My thanks are also due to the authorities of the various libraries such as the Panjab University Library, Lahore, Panjab Public Library, Lahore, Arachaeological Library, New Delhi, National Library, Calcutta and several other libraries for their kindness to allow me to use the manuscripts and rare books in their possession.

1, Atul Grove Road, PRAN NATH CHOPRA
New Delhi 1
November 6, 1955.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	"Ain-i-Akbari" by Abul Fazl, Vol. I, English translation by H. Blochmann (1873); Revised by D.C. Phillott (1939). Vols. II and III by Col. H.S. Jarrett. 2nd Edition, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1948 and 1949.
Altekar	Altekar, A.S. Dr., "The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization".
Amal-i-Salih	"Amal-i-Salih" (Bibliotheca-Indica) by Muhammad Salih Kambu.
A.N.	"Akbarnama" by Abul Fazl. Edited by Agha Ahmad Ali and Abd Al Rahim (Bib-Ind). English translation by H. Beveridge.
B.N.	"Babarnama", English translation by A.S. Beveridge.
Badaoni	Abdul Qadir Badaoni's "Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh". Edited by M. Ahmad Ali Kabir Al Din Ahmad and Nassau Lees (Bib-Ind). English translation Vol. I, by G.S. Ranking, Vol. II by W.H. Lowe, and Vol. III by T.W. Haig.
Bartolomeo	Bartolomeo Fra Paolino Da San—"A Voyage to the East Indies" containing an account of the manners, customs of the natives, with notes and illustrations by John Reinhold Foster. Translation from the German by William Johnston.
Bengal in the 16th century	J.N. Das Gupta—"Bengal in the 16th century".
Bernier	Bernier Francois—"Travels in the Mughal Empire". English translation by Constable. Revised by V.A. Smith.

B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of the Oriental and African Studies, London.
C.A.A.M.	Central Asian Antiquities Museum.
Crookes' Islam in India	"Qanun-i-Islam" or Islam in India by G.H. Herklots. Revised by Crookes. See 'H' also.
De Laet	De Laet's "Empire of the Great Mogol. Translation by J.S. Hoyland.
Della Valle	Pietro Della Valle—"The Travels of a Noble Roman into East Indies and Arabian Deserta", London, 1664.
Elphinstone	Elphinstone Mount Stuart's "The History of India" (Hindu and Muhammadan periods).
E. & D.	Sir Henry M. Elliot and Prof. John Dowson's "History of India as Told by its Own Historians", Vols. 1-8.
Ferishta	Ferishta M Qasim Hindu Shah's "Tarikh-i-Ferishta" English translation by John Briggs, entitled "History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India".
First Englishmen in India	Locke Courteney—"First Englishmen in India".
Ghani	M.A. Ghani—"A History of the Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court".
Grose	E.S. Grose—"A Voyage to the East Indies".
Hamilton	Alexander Hamilton's "A New Account of the East Indies".

Herklots' Islam in India	"Qanun-i-Islam" or Islam in India by Jafar Sharif. Translated by G.H. Herklots. Revised by Crookes.
Hindu Holidays	B.A. Gupte—"Hindu Holidays".
Hindu Muhammadan Feasts	"An Alphabetical List of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans" by E. Denison Ross.
H.N.G.	"Humayunnama—Gulbadan Begam. Translation by A.S. Beveridge.
H.S.S.	"Hindi Sabad Sagar," Vol. I by Shayam Sundar Dass.
I.A.E.	"Indian Art Exhibition", Exhibition of Indian Art Catalogue.
I.N.	"Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri". Edited by Abd Al Haii and Ahmad Ali. Urdu translation by Abalswala Muhammad Zakirya.
Islami Teohar	Moulvi Mahesh Prasad—"Islami Teohar and Utsav".
J.B.O.R.	"Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society."
J.I.H.	"Journal Indian History".
J.P.A.S.B.	"Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal."
J.U.P. Hist. Soc.	"Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society."
Keay.	F.E. Keay's "History of Hindi Literature."
Khafi Khan (K.K.)	"Muntakhab-ul-Lubab" (Bib-Ind).
Khwandamir's Qanun-i-Humayun	"Qanun-i-Humayun." English trans- by Baini Prasad.

Lahori	Abdul Hamid Lahori's "Padshahnama or Badshahnama". Edited by Kabir Al Din Ahmad and Abdul Rahim.
Linschoten	"Linschoten Von John Huyghen's Voyage to East Indies." English translation by Mr. P.A. Tiele.
Mandelslo	Albert Mandelslo "The Voyage and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein"—by Adam Olearius.
Manrique	Manrique Fray Sebastein, "Travels of China and India", Vol. II
M.A.	"Maasir-i-Alamgiri". Edited by Ahmad Ali (Bib-Ind). Translation by Fida Ali Talab in Urdu.
Macauliffe	Macauliffe Max. Arthur, "The Sikh Religion."
Monserrate	Monserrate, S.J., "The Commentarius". English translation by J.S. Hoyland.
Orme's Fragment	Robert Orme—"Fragments of the Moghul Empire, of the Morattoes and of the English Concern in Hindustan."
Outlines of Islamic Culture	"A.M.A. Shushterya"—Outlines of Islamic Culture.
Ovington	"A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689."
Pelsaert's India	Pelsaert Francisco's "The Remonstrantie". Translation by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl.
Petermundy	"Travels in Europe and Asia", Vol. II.
Purchas	"Hakluyt Posthumus" or Purchas and His Pilgrimes, 20 Vols.

CHAPTER I

DRESS, TOILETS AND ORNAMENTS

General

Indian dress is a product of the soil and is eminently suited to the climate and conditions of life in the country. But we have to admit that foreign influence has also played an important part in its evolution. Aesthetic considerations, too, have been responsible for determining our clothing. We have different types of dresses for different seasons of the year, and there are different ways of putting them on, specially for women. The cut or the fashion, once introduced, takes a long time to alter. There is some truth in Orme's observation about us that "the habit has at this day the same cut which it had a thousand years ago[1]." Our medieval dress impressed foreigners, specially European travellers, who spoke highly of the neat and well-fitted costumes of the Bengalis[2], the Panjabis[3] and the people of other provinces. The Goanese were said to have excelled all. The rich among them would change their dress every day and sometimes even oftener[4]. Della Valle writes about the Indian dress : "I was so taken with the Indian dress in regard of its cleanliness and easiness and for the goodly show— I caused one to be made for myself complete in every point and carry with me to show it in Italy[5]."

Poor people of different communities dressed very much alike, and so did the rich. The poor contented themselves with a piece of cloth wrapped

1 Orme's Fragments, p. 410.

2 Rankings' Historical Researches, p. 266.

3 Pyrard, II., p. 137.

4 Pyrard, I., p. 376.

5 Della Valle, p. 23.

round their waist, called *dhoti*, which used to be usually five yards long. The rich imitated the *darbari* (court) dress—an inter-mixture of Indo-Persian style—consisting of a long coat and tight trousers of Indian make[1]. The head-dress of the poor was a cap, that of the rich was a *puggree*. Hindus, irrespective of their position, wore turbans. According to Della Valle, the nobles changed their clothes daily[2]. Muhammadans spent lavishly on their dress[3], particularly their women[4], and used silk, brocade, etc., according to their position in life[5]. But the orthodox among them abstained from yellow[6] and silken clothes[7]. The historian Badaoni was enraged to see a *mufti* dressed in "garment of unmixed silk[8]." Muslim ascetics wore a tall *darvesh* cap and wooden sandals, and wrapped themselves in a sheet of unsewn cloth[9]. A simple loin cloth was sufficient to cover the body of a Hindu *Yogi*. Muslim scholars or *ulema* put on a turban, a *qaba* and a *pyjama*. Bernier thus describes the dress of Kavindracharya, the great Hindu scholar of the time of Shahjahan whom he met in Banaras, "He wore a

1 For dresses of nobles refer to various paintings of the period. 'Portrait of Raja Birbal', No. 642, I. A. E. lent by Bharat Kala Bhawan depicts the Raja put on a *Jama* having five sides. A painting, No. 610, I. A. E. lent by Indian Museum, Calcutta, of Jahangir's period depicts a courtier put on a turban, *Jama*, *Kamarband*, breeches of yellow colour and flowery chappals having no back flaps. Paintings numbered 603, 635 and 643, I. A. E. depict various nobles in their attires. All these nobles put on ornaments as pendants, necklaces, *bazubands*, etc. They also carry swords and daggers.

2 Della Valle, p. 456.

3 Mandelslo, p. 64.

4 Ovington, p. 320.

5 Mandelslo, p. 63.

6 M. A. Trans. Talab (Urdu), p. 111.

7 Badaoni, II., 306, Tr. II., 316.

8 *Ibid.* Haji Ibrahim of Sirhind was called a wretch by Mir Ali, because the former had issued a *fatwa* legalising the use of garments of red and yellow colour. Badaoni, II., 210, Tr. II., 214.

9 For a contemporary painting of ascetics see "Assembly of *Darveshas*" Mughal, second quarter of 17th century lent by Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, No. 616, I. A.E.

white silk scarf tied about his waist and hanging halfway down the leg, and another tolerably large scarf of red silk which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders[1]." Such must have been the dress of other medieval Hindu scholars, except that the poorer among them must have used cotton instead of silk.

Dress of the Royalty

The Mughal kings were very particular about new fashions and variety in dresses. Humayun invented several kinds of new dresses, particularly the one called *Ulbagcha*. It was a waist-coat, open in front and hanging down to the waist over the coat or *qaba*[2]. Akbar, whose aesthetic taste was highly developed, employed skilled tailors to improve the style of the costumes in his wardrobe[3]. Humayun and Akbar generally changed their dresses daily to match with the colour of the planet of the day[4]. Monserrate writes about the dress of Akbar : "His Majesty wore clothes of silk beautifully embroidered in gold. His Majesty's cloak comes down to his hose and his boots cover his ankles completely and (he) wears pearls and gold jewellery[5]." Sir Thomas Roe thus describes the dress of Jahangir : "On his head he wore a rich turbant with a plume of heron's feathers, not many, but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as long as a walnut, on the other side, a diamond as large, in the middle an emerald like a heart much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearls, rubies and diamonds drilled. About his neck, he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearls, the largest I ever saw. About his elbows armlets set with diamonds

1 Bernier (Ed. 1891), p. 341.

2 Qanoon-i-Humayun, p. 50.

3 Ain, I. (1873), p. 88.

4 Badaoni, II., 260-61, Tr. II., 268.

5 Monserrate, p. 198 ; Della Valle (pp. 456-57) saw the king adorned with many precious jewels.

and on his wrist three rows of several sorts, his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves upon a fine femain as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearls, the toes sharp and turning up[1]." Jahangir reserved for himself a particular dress consisting of *nadiri*[2], *tus shawl, batugiriban*[3], *qaba* of Gujarati *satin, chera* and waist-belt woven with silk and inter-woven with gold and silk threads. None was allowed to imitate or put on this dress unless it was specially bestowed upon him by the Emperor.

The 'Ain-i-Akbari' describes eleven types of coats. *Takauchiyah* was a coat with round skirt tied on the right side ; *Peshwaj,* open in front and tied in front ; *Shah-Ajidah* (or the royal stitch coat) with sixty ornamental stitches ; *Gadar*, wider and longer than the *qaba*, was used in place of the fur coat, and *Fargi* was worn over the *jama*. *Chakman* and *Fargul* were raincoats, the former was made of broad cloth, woollen stuff or wax-cloth[4]. Shahjahan's dress was practically the same as that of his father with the only difference, that it was more gorgeous and gaudy[5]. Aurangzeb made an attempt at simplicity[6].

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1 Roe's Embassy (Edition 1926) pp. 283-84. Also see Manrique II., p. 198.

2 A long coat without sleeves worn over *qaba* and coming down to the thighs.

3 Coat with a folded collar with embroidered sleeves.

4 Ain, I. (1873), pp. 88-90.

5 Painting No. 620 of 1650 A. D. in I. A. E. lent by Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, shows clearly the dress usually worn by Shahjahan.

6 'Alamgir at the siege of Golkunda' lent by the Rampur State Library, painted by Nadir-uz-Zamani, early 18th century shows Aurangzeb dressed in military fashion.

Dress of the upper class

The well-to-do classes spent lavishly on their dresses, and wealthy Muhammadans wore both *shalwars*[1] and breeches[2] or tight trousers. *Shalwars* were of three kinds, single, double and wadded[3], and breeches, though loose round the waist, were invariably tight from the mid-leg to the ankles and were long enough to be plaited[4].

The shirt was worn by the upper and middle class people and, according to the custom in the East, it hung over the trousers and like the coat was open from top to bottom[5]. The Bengali shirts were usually long[6], but Pyrard seemed to exaggerate, when he said that these came down to the heels[7]. The people of Goa wore shirts which were also very long[8]. Some wore narrow waist-coats with sleeves up to the elbow[9]. As a protection against cold in winter they wore over their shirts an *'arealuck'* (*bandhi*) stuffed with cotton. The outer cloth was either checked or flowered on silk or cotton[10]. A vest called *qaba* was sometimes put on as an upper garment. The rich had it woven with golden threads and other rich stuff and lined with sables[11].

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1 Ain, I. (1873), pp. 88-90.

2 Mandelslo, p. 64.

3 Ain, I. (1873), p. 90.

4 Hamilton, I., p. 163 (New Edition) ; Pyrard, I., p. 372, II., p. 137; Della Valle, pp. 410-11; Thevenot Chap. XX, pp. 36-37 ; Ovington, p. 315. Painting No. 550 of 1500 A.D., I.A.E. lent by Sri Ajit Ghose of Calcutta further illustrates the style of breeches adopted in Mughal days.

5 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 36.

6 In recent times the long shirt has been discarded in Bengal and a short one known as 'the *Panjabi*' has been universally adopted.

7 Pyrard, I, p. 332.

8 Varthema, p. 46.

9 Mandelslo, p. 51.

10 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 36.

11 *Ibid.*, page 37.

The *qaba* or coat made of a variety of stuffs was usually long and came down to the ankles[1]. It was fastened by strings. The Hindus tied the strings on the left side, while the Muhammadans tied them on their right side[2]. The rich also carried over their shoulders shawls of very fine woollen fabric, of several handsome colours, and some wrapped them like a scarf[3]. It was the fashion to tie one's waist with a scarf which was sometimes made of beautiful and costly multi-coloured stuff[4]. Men carried arms and fashionable people adorned themselves with a *katari* or dagger fitted with golden handles set with precious stones[5]. Hindus used to carry a piece of coloured or white cloth over their shoulders and wore pendants in their ears[6]. Golden bracelets were worn by the rich around their wrists[7]. The children generally up to the age of four or five years went naked[8], but they tied round their waist a silver or gold chain and on their legs wore little bells of precious metal[9].

Dress of common people

Workmen, artisans, tillers of the soil and other labourers contented themselves with a cotton *langota*[10]

1 Della Valle, p. 410. His description, though detailed, is confusing. Pyrard (I,'p. 332) and Thevenot compare it to frock and gown respectively. Travels in India in the 17th; century (Trubner, London 1873) Mandelslo, p. 51 ; Hamilton (New Edition) I, p. 164, Ovington, p. 315; Storia, III., p. 39 ; Stavorinus, I, pp. 414-15.

2 Hamilton (New Edition) I, p. 164. According to Lisnchoten, I, p 247 it was considered dignified to tie only the first and the last of the ribbons of the *qaba* while the others were left hanging. Stavorinus, I., pp. 414-15.

3 Thevenot, Chapter XX, p. 37.

4 Pyrard, I, p. 372. Della Valle (pp. 410-12) rightly calls it *kamarband*. Manrique, II., pp. 223-24. Hindus preferred *kamarband* of white muslin (Storia, III., p. 39).

5 Mandelslo; p. 63; Stavorinus, I, p. 457.

6 Pyrard, I., p. 372.

7 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 216.

8 Mandelslo; p. 51; Thevenot Chap. XX, p. 37.

9 Storia, III., p. 39.

10 Abul Fazl describes *langota* as a waist cloth which covers only two parts of the body. Ain., III., p. 274. For the dress of a *yogi* refer to Macauliffe, I., p. 162.

tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees[1]. Babar writes in his memoirs : "The Hindustanis tie on a thing called *langota*, a decent clout which hangs two spans below the navel[2]." Abul Fazl remarks: "Men and women (of Bengal) for most part go naked, wearing only a cloth about the loins[3]." Nizamuddin Ahmad saw men and women in the Deccan and Golkunda walking about with a "cloth bound about their middle without any more apparel[4]." European travellers from Caemoes to Manucci confirm this view[5]. What the travellers failed to notice was that during winter the common people, except paupers, put on small quilted coats which lasted for years[6]. As the Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri writes, these were never washed till worn out and torn[7]. In northern India even the poor sometimes put on turbans to protect their head from the heat and the cold. Varthema calls it a red cloth head-wear[8]. In the cold weather quilted caps were common in some parts of northern India, especially in Kashmir, the Panjab and the modern Uttar Pradesh[9].

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1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 216.

2 B.N. (Bev), p. 519. See painting of a poor *kisan* clad in *langota*. "Harvest scene", early 17th century I.A.E. painting No. 602, lent by Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

3 Ain., II., p. 122.

4 T.A. II., p. 100.

5 Caemoes in Canto VII Est. XXXVII quoted in "India in Portuguese Literature", p. 52 says : "They go unclothed, but a wrap they throw for decent purposes round their loin and waist." Early Travels in India p. 17 ; Tavernier, II, page 125 ; Stavorinus, I, p. 414.

6 Ain., II., p. 351. J.U.P. Hist. Soc., July 1942, pp. 68-69.

7 Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri (Urdu), p. 106.

8 Varthema, p. 45.

9 J. U. P. Hist. Soc., July 1942, pp. 68-69.

Head-dress

Bare-headed persons were little respected in medieval India, and people invariably put on a cap or a turban while stirring out of their houses[1]. It was common with the Muslims as well as the Hindus. The head-dress was not removed in the presence of one's superiors and the traveller De Laet noted that when paying respects to elders "they never take this covering off[2]." Turbans worn by Muslims were usually white and round shaped, while those of the Hindus were coloured, straight, high and pointed[3]. There were many styles of tying turbans and these differed from caste to caste and province to province[4]. The rich used the finest possible linen for their turbans, 25 to 30 yards in length hardly weighing more than 4 ounces[5]. Some got their turbans wrought with silk or gold threads[6], while others had only one end of the turban interwoven and this they displayed in the front or the top of their forehead[7]. *Kulahs* and Kashmiri caps have also been mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari[8]. These must have been put on by

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1 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 91; Petermundy, II, pp. 110-111; J. U. P. Hist., Soc , July 1942, pp. 68-69. Mandelslo, p. 53, describes turban as a 'Coissure'. De Laet, pp. 80-81, wrongly calls it a *shash*.

2 De Laet, pp. 80-81.

3 Pyrard, II, p. 137. Several modes of binding turbans in vogue at that time can be seen in a big painting (about 2½ yards in length and one yard in breadth) of the 17th century 'Abdullah Qutab Shah in procession', I. A. E.

4 Mandelslo p. 53; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 317.

5 Muslins manufactured in Bengal were so fine that a piece of 20 yards in length and even longer could be enclosed in a common pocket tobacco box (usually eight inches long and 4 inches broad and an inch deep), Stavorinus, I, pp. 413-14. Also see Thevenot Chap. XX, p. 37.

6 Mandelslo, p. 64; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 450; Della Valle, pp. 410-12; Bernier, p. 240.

7 Varthema, p. 45.

8 Ain. I, pp. 88-89; Studies in Indo-Muslim History by S. H. Hodivala, p. 504.

Muslims of upper India. Sometimes caps had as many as ten sides, like those worn in Gujarat[1].

Footwear

Stockings were not used by any section of the people[2]. Bernier writes: "Heat is so great in Hindustan that no one, not even the king, wears stockings[3]." However, there is a reference to the use of *mozas*[4]. The general style of the shoes was Turkish[5], *viz.*, pointed in front and open above[6] with low heels to be easily undone when necessary[7]. Stavorinus writes: "They have a kind of shoes which are put on slip-shod and are turned up before just like the Turkish babooches (babouches)[8]." It was found to be very suitable in the hot climate of the country and could be conveniently taken off when one entered a house. The floors of sitting rooms were carpeted either with costly rugs or cheaper coverings in medieval times[9], and it was necessary to take off one's shoes before entering. Muhammadans, according to Thevenot[10] and Mandelslo[11], kept the heels of their shoes invariably low and even folded, so that they could be conveniently put on and off. But men of business kept the heels of their shoes high to enable them to walk swiftly[12].

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1 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 91. It remained the usual head-dress of Muhammadans round about Murshidabad down to the recent times.

2 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37.

3 Bernier, p. 240.

4 M. A. Trans. (Talab) Urdu, p. 111, Ovington is of the opinion that "the length of their breeches which descend to their heels serve them instead of stockings". Ovington, p. 315.

5 Pyrard, II, p. 137.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Travels in India of Roe and Samuel Purchas, p. 96.

8 Stavorinus, I, pp. 414-15.

9 De Laet, pp. 80-81.

10 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37.

11 Mandelslo, p. 51.

12 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37, refers to *banias* in particular.

Pyrard, however, saw Brahamans of Calicut put on brown slippers "much pointed in front, the point raised high with knob of the same leather in winter[1]," and use wooden slippers in summer[2]. A special type of sandal called *'alparcas'* was another footwear. It consisted of several leather sides and was fitted with a number of fine gilt leather straps knitted together by means of gilded buckles and fastenings[3]. According to Mandelslo, *alparcas* were wooden shoes "tied up over the instep with straps of leather[4]." The middle class people used red leather shoes[5] worked over with small flowers[6], while the rich got them embroidered with gold, silver or silk flowers[7]. Some used shoes made of Spanish leather, and the wealthier had them of velvet and brocade[8]. Sometimes Morocco or Turkish leather[9] was also used and was bordered with gold if the wearer was rich. The men of quality had their shoes made of velvet[10] of several colours or of brocade covered with gilt leather[11] and sometimes set rubies, jewels and diamonds on the instep of their shoes[12]. Such shoes were used usually on wedding occasions.

Women's dress

Ladies had not many varieties of dresses[13]. The only apparel of the poor womenfolk was a piece of

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1 Pyrard, I, p. 376.
2 Mandelslo, p. 51. Wooden shoes (*kharawan*) are particularly used by the *sannyasis* and orthodox members of the priestly classes who have an aversion to animal leather. In villages these are most commonly used.
3 Pyrard, I, p. 376.
4 Mandelslo, p. 74. Linschoten (Hak. Soc. I, p. 257) also refers to 'Alparcas' sandal which was quite popular according to the traveller in the Deccan.
5 Ovington, pp. 314-15.
6 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37.
7 Ovington, p.38.
8 Mandelslo, p. 51.
9 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37.
10 Storia, III, p. 39.
11 Mandelslo, p. 51.
12 Varthema, p. 48.
13 For the dress of Rajput ladies refer to Tod (Crookes) II., pp. 58-59.

cloth wrapped round the middle part of the body[1] and thrown over the head, called *sari* and an *angiya* or a small jacket worn round the chest[2]. Babar describes *sari* as "a cloth, one end of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head[3]". One end of the sari, usually striped in two colours, was drawn to cover the head[4]. Sometimes it was left over the shoulder to enhance beauty[5]. Hindu ladies liked the red colour best and their clothes were usually striped and dyed in that colour[6]. Lower class women in the South did not usually cover their head. Ferishta writes: "Here in the Deccan and Golkunda men and women do go with a cloth bound about their middle without any more apparel[7]." Some of the poorest Oriya women could not even afford to provide a piece of cloth and used the leaves of the trees instead[8].

The *angiya* or jacket, covering down to the waist, was used by the rich and the poor alike[9]. Stavorinus[10] and Grose[11] have described it as a pair of hollow cups or cases. Stavorinus writes: "They support their breasts and press them upwards by a piece of linen which passes under the arms and is made fast on the back[12]." A smock down to the

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1 Tavernier, II, p. 125.

2 Ain, III, pp. 311-12.

3 B. N., p. 519.

4 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37. See a painting of the 17th century depicting a woman wearing a *sari*.

5 Grose, I, p. 143.

6 Storia, II, p. 341.

7 Ferishta, II, p. 100. Fitch saw women in Tanda, Sonargaon, etc., all naked except a cloth round the waist. Fitch in Early Travels in India, pp. 22, 29.

8 Ain, II, p. 126.

9 Ain, III, pp. 311-12.

10 Stavorinus, I, p. 415.

11 Grose, I, pp. 142-43.

12 Stavorinus, I, p. 415.

waist and a piece of cloth wrapped like a petticoat formed the indoor dress.

Some of the ladies put on half smocks reaching to the waist and made of the finest cotton or silk through which their skin was quite visible[1]. While going out they would put on a silk or cotton waistcoat over the smocks and "tie a sari over the petticoat." The *ghagra*[2], too, was popular, especially among Muhammadan women. Manucci writes: "Ordinarily they wear two or three garments, each weighing not more than one ounce and worth from rupees forty to rupees fifty each[3]."

Breeches (trousers) and shirts were common among Muhammadan ladies whose breeches did not differ much from those of men[4], and were tied at the navel by means of a silver or silken string running through them. Some ladies would allow one end of the string to hang down to their knees[5]. The Muhammadan ladies were distinguished by their *shalwars* and shirts with half-length sleeves, the rest of the arm was adorned with precious ornaments[6]. The breeches or *shalwars* were made of cotton, silk or brocade according to the wearer's position in life[7] and were striped in several colours. The rich women put on *qabas* of fine Kashmir wool[8] which were in some cases "gathered or plaited a pretty

1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384.

2 For a beautiful shirt worn by rich ladies, see Art. No. 704, I.A.E., It is embroidered with peacock and floral sprays in yellow field and floral meanders on edges, effective colour scheme, Kutch, end of the 18th century. Painting No. 670, I.A.E., shows a woman in *ghagra*.

3 Storia, II, p. 341.

4 Della Valle, p. 411.

5 Mandelslo, p. 50, remarks that it came down to the feet. It seems exaggerated.

6 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37.

7 Ain, I. (1873), p. 90.

8 Storia, II, p. 341.

above to make their waist seem short[1]." Some of them also used Kashmir shawls of the finest quality that "can be passed through a small finger ring[2]." Some of the royal ladies, besides having artistic taste, possessed inventive genius. For example, Nurjahan devised many kinds of dresses, fashions and ornaments. Several varieties of brocades, laces and gowns owe their origin to her and are known as *Nur Mahali*, *Her Dudami*, *Panchatolia*, *Badlah*, *Kainari* and *Farsh-i-Chandni*[3]. Ladies, both Hindus and Muhammadans, covered their heads with a *dopatta*[4] of fine cotton or silk wrought with silver or gold threads[5], according to their means and both its ends "hung down on both sides as low as the knees[6]." Muhammadan ladies, whenever they moved out, put on white shrouds or *burqas*[7]. Hindu ladies adorned their hair with flowers and jewels[8]. *Lachaq* was a superior head-dress reserved only for princesses and daughters of nobles. It was a square mantle doubled into triangle and fastened at the chin[9]. Some of the princesses put on turbans with the king's permission[10].

Nobody wore stockings, but precious ornaments were put on the legs over the breeches[11]. Poor

1 Hamilton, I, p. 164.

2 Storia, II, p. 341.

3 History of Jahangir, p. 183; K.K., I, p. 269; Ain, I, (1873), p. 510.

4 Ain, I, (1873), p. 90.

5 Mandelslo, p. 64.

6 Della Valle (p. 411) says they were made of white calicoes.

7 Hamilton, I, p. 164; De Laet, pp. 80-81; Mandelslo, p. 50; Tavernier, III, p. 181.

8 Grose, I, p. 143.

9 Humayun-Nama-Gul, p. 138.

10 Storia, II, p. 341. Painting No. 650, I.A.E., 18th century, shows Rupmati wearing a turban. See another painting of 'Chand Bibi and her maidens' Deccani, early 17th century, No. 659, I.A.E. in which are seen some of these maidens with turbans on.

11 Storia, II, p. 40.

women moved about bare-footed[1], but high class ladies put on shoes of various patterns[2], and artistic slippers covered with silver and golden flowers[3]. Usually they were of red colour and without backs[4].

Soap and Dyes

In modern times articles of toilet have multiplied due to western inventions, but the common Indian is content with, rather prefers, his old, and in many cases more effective, make-up products. Thus the poor has not his soap but soap-berry, plant air, bark ash and pulse-flour-powder, and for improving complexion turmeric powder, rice powder, a paste of *kusama* flower, oil-cakes, sandal-wood paste, and various other such like products are at his disposal.

India had made sufficient progress so far as this aspect of civilization was concerned. Hair-dye, recipes for the cure of baldness and the removal of hair from the body were known and practised even in ancient times[5]. Soaps, powders and creams had their substitutes in *ghasul*[6], myrobalans, *opatnah*[7] and pounded sandal-wood[8]. Soap was known and used in India from ancient times. According to Mr. Watt, "The art of soap making has been known

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1 Storia, II, p. 40.

2 Thevenot, Chap. XX, p. 37.

3 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384.

4 See I.A.E., Painting No. 519 of 1720 A.D.

5 See Atha Kesaranjanam Slokas 3055-3072, Ed. Peterson Vol. I, Bombay 1888. Also see an article on 'Toilet' in Indian Culture, 1934-35 for various hair dyes and prescriptions for cure of baldness, etc. Also see Amir Khusrau's ridicule of the dyeing of hair. Matla-ul-Anwar of Amir Khusrau, Lucknow, 1884.

6 A liquid soap. Ain, I, (1873), p. 75.

7 It is rubbed over face and other parts of the body to clean and make them look brighter and lovely. Usually its composition is scented oil mixed with butter, flour and some colour.

8 A collection of Voyages undertaken by East India Co., p. 218. Ain, I, (1873), pp. 75-76.

and practised (in India) from a remote antiquity, the impure article produced being used by washermen and dyers[1]." Even the word saban or sabuni was known in about Babar's time as a line of Guru Nanak in 'Japji Sahib' clearly states[2] :

त पलीत कपड़ होय देमू सबूनो लयये धोये ।

Perfumes and Oil

Soap is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari in the following words (about Bisar) : "Lenar[3] is a part of Mekhur[4] division...These mountains produce all the requisites for making glass and soap[5]." Bocarro in his report on Portuguese forts and settlements in India in 1644 also refers to Sabas[6]. Precious scents of divers kinds were in use. Kautilya's Arthasastra gives a long list of fragrant substances for toilet preparations. The Ain-i-Akbari's account of scents is no less detailed and their prices ranged from half rupee per tola for *zabad* to Rs. 55 per tola for sandal-wood[7]. *Araq-i-sewti*, *araq-i-chameli*, *mosseri*[8], and *amber-i-ashab*[9] were considered best among the different varieties of perfumes. Akbar had created a special perfumery department called *Khushbu Khana*. Shaikh Mansur was put in

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1 The Commercial Production of India, 1908, p. 819. Dalgado records the names for soap in Asiatic languages including Indian vernaculars and other languages as *Sabun* (Persian), *Sabon* (Arabic), *Sabun* (Turkish), etc. Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages (G.O. Series, Baroda, 1936), pp. 314-15.

2 Madhyayugina Charitra Kosa by Chitrav, p. 483—Nanak.

3 Indian Companion by G.H. Khendekar, Poona, 1894. Loner is in the Buldana Distt. of Berar.

4 *Ibid*, p. 169. Mekhar is 14 miles from Buldana.

5 Ain-Gladwin, I, p. 348.

6 Mss. in India Office No. 197 of B.M. Solan, Mss. Bocarro XIII, p. 588. Marathi poet Muktesvara (1599-1649 A.D.) refers to the word *Saban*, Art. in Poona Orientalist, July to October 1946, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 to 4.

7 Ain, I, (1873), pp. 75-77.

8 A falonj containing amber, pearls, gold, opium and other stimulants. Pelsaert's India, p. 65.

9 A product of zabad, musk and agar.

charge[1] of it. According to Pelsaert: "They studied night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as, *mosseri* or *falroj* containing amber, pearls, gold, amboa, opium and other stimulants[2]." Nurjahan's mother prepared a new *itar* from roses and named it *itar-i-Jahangiri*[3]. Jahangir writes: "It is of such a strength in perfume that if a drop of it is rubbed on the palm of the hand it scents the whole assembly. There is no scent of equal excellence[4]." Lahore[5], Balsar[6], Cambaya and Banaras[7] were well known for rare perfumes.

Men's toilet

Sweet scented oils of various kinds were exported from Bengal and applied to the hair and also rubbed on the body[8]. How very essential oil was for a bath is clear from the words of Mukundram, a poet of the 16th century. On reaching Gokra, he writes: "My bath was without oil, water only was my drink and food and my infant child cried for hunger[9]." The poor people used cocoanut[10] oil, and the nobles would anoint their bodies with

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1 T.A. II, p. 494.

2 Pelsaert's India, p. 65.

3 Tuzuk-Rogers I, p. 271. Wakiat-i-Jahangiri mentions that Nurjahan's mother conceived the idea of collecting the oil by heating rose water and the experiment was successful. According to Manucci, Nurjahan got all the reservoirs in the garden filled with rose water. Next day she found a film of oil had come over its top and had a very sweet smell. Storia 1, pp. 163-64.

4 R and B.I., p. 271.

5 Monserrate, p. 160.

6 Ain, II, p. 243.

7 Purchas, II, p. 66 and for Cambaya, Thevenot, p. 12.

8 Pyrard, I, p. 243.

9 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 63.

10 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 447. Storia, II, p. 430.

sandal[1] and other oils extracted from various flowers[2]. In Gujarat, according to Barbosa, they anointed themselves with white sandal-wood paste mixed with saffron and other scents[3]. In hot weather, the rich would add rose water to keep their skin cool[4]. *Santak*[5] and *argajah* were also used for the same purpose. They used a sweat powder like that of sandal-wood to get the sweat out of their bodies[6] and head, and "daubed it (head) with oil". Collyrium was used for the eyes[7]. Sur Das laments in one of his verses : "The collyrium does not stay on my eyes, my hands and my cheeks have become dark[8]." Hair dyes were also freely employed to make one look younger. Muhammadans who usually kept hair on their upper lips would not let them grow grey even when old by "combing it continually with lead black combs[9]." Betel was made use of both by men and women to dye their lips red and make them look attractive[10]. It rendered the breath agreeable and also strengthened the gums[11]. Tooth gums and tooth picks were also employed for cleansing teeth[12]. Mirrors were in common use[13]. Combs made of

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1 Ain, II, p. 126.
2 Ain, I, p. 75.
3 Barbosa, I, 113, 141.
4 Pelsaert's India, p. 65.
5 Product of civet, chuwah, chambeli's essence and rose water.
6 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 447 ; Ain, I, (1873), p. 81.
7 Ain, I, (1873), p. 75.
8 History of Hindi Literature by Keay, p. 75.
9 Della Valle, p. 376. He adds : "But they let the hair of their chins grow long and large which make many grey bearded amongst them."
10 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 180 ; Careri, pp. 205-6.
11 Ain, I, (1873), p. 72.
12 Badaoni, III, 315, Tr., III, 436.
13 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 447. Padumavat translation by Grierson, p. 42. Here the reference is to a mirror in the hand of Nagamati. The price of a looking glass has been mentioned as £ 5 by Hamilton. Hamilton I, p. 119. Tabqat, II, p. 685 also refers to a mirror made by Mir Fathullah Shirazi.

wood, metal or horns of animals were indispensable items of toilet. Hair was kept in proper trim by a piece of cloth called *rumali*[1].

People in those days were as anxious to look young, bright and beautiful as in our times. Grose rightly observes : "In short, one must do the Orientalists in general the justice to allow that none are more studious of the cleanliness and suppleness of the body than they are which they not absurdly conceive conduces even to the pleasure of mind[2]." Samhita[3] and Nikayas[4], followed by the Ain[5] in the Mughal times, give a long list of the rules of conduct to be observed after leaving the bed early in the morning. It includes tooth brushing, use of eye and mouth washes, bathing and washing, rubbing, kneading and shampooing, anointing the body with perfume, using collyrium for the eye, using mirror, face powders, hair dressing and betel chewing. Early in the morning people used then, as now, a *datan* for cleaning and brushing teeth[6]. Besides making them clean and beautiful, it strengthened the gums and the teeth. Mandelslo writes : "It is ordinary (usual) to see among them men of hundred years yet have not a tooth missing[7]." Other practices were wearing bracelets, carrying walking sticks, swords

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1 Storia, III, p. 38.

2 Grose, I, pp. 113-14.

3 Cikitsasthana Chap. XXIV, Eng. translation by K.L. Visagratna. Article in Indian Culture 'Toilet', pp. 651-66 by G.P. Majumdar.

4 Khuddaka Patha with commentary—Smith P.T.S., 1915, pp. 1-37.

5 Ain, III, pp. 311-12.

6 Careri, p. 168; Badaoni, III, 300, Tr. III, 414. Tavernier's remarks are worth quoting : "It is the custom of Indians to cleanse and scrape their tongues every morning with a crooked piece of a root (*datan*) which causes them to void a great quantity of flegum and rhume and provokes vomiting." Tavernier, Chap. VI, p. 44.

7 Mandelslo, p. 85.

or gun-like weapons, umbrella, wearing a turban, a diadem, carrying a fan or *chauri*, wearing embroidered and fashionable garments. The Ain. adds for men trimming of the beard, wearing the *jama* fastened on the left side, tying the *mukuta*, which is a golden *tiara* work, on the turban, and painting on the forehead the sectarian marks of one's particular caste[1]. Akbar used to spend three *gharis* (a little over one hour) on his body, dress, clothing, toilet, etc.[2]

Bathing was a preliminary requirement both for men and women before starting their daily business. It was a religious duty for Hindus to bathe early in the morning preferably in a river or a tank. Bathing houses did a flourishing business in all the great cities of the Mughal empire. Some eight hundred were to be found in Agra alone[3].

Bathing arrangements in such places were very elaborate. After a good bath, the customer was rubbed all over with a hair cloth, and the soles of his feet with a piece of porous sand-stone. Then another man would rub the customer's back[4] from the backbone down to the sides in order to stimulate the blood to flow freely in the veins[5]. In these *hamams*, oils, perfumes[6], essences of sandal, cloves

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1 Ain. III, pp. 311-12.

2 A. N. III, 257, Tr. III, 373.

3 Mandelslo, p. 36. A New History of East Indies, I, p. 298. For a public bath scene (Bihizad 1495) see plate XVII in "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture." Warm baths were resorted to by upper classes in northern India. Nicolo Conti in Travels in India in the 15th century, p. 29.

4 "Both Moors and Gentoos are, however, extremely fond of this practice and it is so common that it would be hard to find a barber-native who is not skilled in it as one of the essentials of that profession." Grose I, pp. 113-14. For a detailed description see *Ibid*.

5 Mandelslo, p. 45.

6 Mukundram mentions *ghani* or the oil pressing machine. Bengal in the 16th century, p. 158.

and oranges were freely applied to the customer[1]. The people kept their feet as clean and soft as their hands. Some of them anointed them with scented oils[2]. These healthy practices are fast dying out in our days.

Barbers kept no shops. They were to be found roaming in streets with a towel on their shoulders and a mirror in their hands[3]. These looking-glasses, according to Della Valle, were made of steel[4] and were round or square in shape[5]. Besides a mirror, barbers were equipped with a razor, a pair of scissors, and a nail cutter with one end of which they used to clear ears of the wax and with the other end to cut the nails[6]. For all this labour they would not demand more than a pice or two[7].

Hindus and Muhammadans could be distinguished by the difference in their manner of shaving. The former were usually clean shaven[8]. Only a small number of them wore small beards with their hair turned upward. The orthodox Muslims, however, kept long beards which usually reached their chests and were trimmed[9]. Moustaches were worn both by Hindus and Muhammadans[10]—Hindus wore them long, and Muhammadans trimmed them in the centre and in the corners. It was a common custom

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1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 450.

2 Della Valle, pp. 376-77.

3 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 450.

4 Della Valle, pp. 376-77.

5 Grose I, pp. 113-14.

6 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 450.

7 Ovington, p. 321.

8 Barbosa, I, 113. "Hindus shave the whole head except a tuft around the crown". De Laet, p. 80.

9 Mandelslo, p. 63; Pyrard, I, p. 280. For the style of '*qalams*' see painting No: 606, Jahangir period, 1625, Treasurywala collection, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 56, lent by C.A.A. Museum. See painting No. 401 of Maharaja Gaj Singh (1700 A.D.).

10 Mandelslo, p. 50.

among Hindus to apply *tilak* to their foreheads—a yellow mark[1] of about a finger's breadth. Caste Hindus put on a sacred thread[2]. The rich among them adorned themselves with pendants and necklaces of gold, set with jewels and pearls[3].

Women's toilet

Naturally, toilet was regarded as a thing more important for women[4] than for men. In "Padumavat" of Malik Muhammad Jayasi there is a detailed description of women's toilet. They go in for bathing, application of sandal, and vermilion on the parting of hair, a spangle on the forehead, collyrium, ear-rings, nose-studs, betel to redden the lips, necklets, armlets, a girdle and anklets. Then there are sixteen graces, four long, four short, four stout, and four thin[5]. Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari describes 16 items for a woman's toilet which include bathing, anointing, braiding the hair, decking the crown of her head with jewels, sectarian marks of caste after decking with pearls, jewels and gold, tinting with lamp black like collyrium, staining the hands, eating *pan* and decorating herself with various ornaments as nose-rings, necklaces, rings, wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers, etc.

Girls up to the age of 12 kept only a small tail of hair and made it into a roll on one side of the head. Young girls made their hair into tresses and

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1 It is made with water and sandal-wood to which they add 4 or 5 grams of rice. Mandelslo, p. 51. Early Travels in India, p. 96. Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 447.

2 B. N., p. 561, f.n.

3 Mandelslo, p. 51.

4 For photo of a woman at her toilet see Civilisation of India Series, p. 384. For contemporary paintings of ladies at toilet see "A lady at her toilet with attendant" painting No. 514, I.A.E. early 18th century. Another numbered 505 I.A.E. is of late 17th century.

5 Canto XXIII of Padumavat from A.S.B. 1893, Part I, p. 179, Article by G.A. Grierson on Padumavat.

bound them with ribbons. "Their hair is always dressed, plaited and perfumed with scented oil," according to Manucci[1]. Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads[2]. Long hair was considered a mark of beauty[3]. Hindu ladies considered it auspicious to put a vermilion mark and to anoint the parting of their hair[4]. They decked their heads with jewels and flowers. Collyrium was used for the eyes. It was usual for high class ladies to use *missia*[5] for blackening between the teeth and antimony for darkening their eyelashes. Zeb-un-Nisa who did not use these toilet accessories was considered a surprising exception[6]. They made strings or collars of sweet flowers and wore them about their necks. Indian women frequently used *mehndi* to give red colour to their hands and feet[7]. It served as a nail polish to redden their finger nails. They reddened their lips with the betel leaf which served them as a lip-stick[8].

Various ornaments, such as, nose-rings, ear-rings, etc., adorned their lovely faces. Beautiful and well-adapted robes made them attractive. Orme with many others corroborates, "Nature seems to

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1 Storia, III, p. 40. In most of the paintings of the period the well-to-do women are shown to dress their hair as to let some curled hair hang loose before the ear. Painting No. 633, I.A.E., late 17th century lent by Rampur State Library.

2 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 182.

3 Mandelslo, p. 50. He praises the Gujarati ladies for their long hair.

4 Early Travels in India by Foster, p. 22. Padumavat translation by Grierson, p. 52, F.N.

5 Padumavat translation, Grierson, p. 569.

6 Dastur ul Amal, p. 14, in Diwan of Zeb-un-Nisa by Magan Lal, introduction, p. 8.

7 Leaves of a plant pounded and formed into a paste by mixing with water. Storia, II, p. 340.

8 Majith is the dark red madder dye. f.n., p. 107, Padumavat. Amir Khusrau rebukes the middle aged women who tried hard to retain their diminishing beauty by painting their eye-brows, powdering their faces and putting antimony in their eyes. Matla-ul-Anwar of Amir Khusrau, 1884, pp. 186, 194.

have showered beauty on the fairer sex throughout Indostan with a more lavish hand than in most other countries[1].

Women's ornaments

The love of ornaments prompted by vanity is inherent in the human race. A primitive instinct is to make one's person more beautiful and imposing by ornamentation. Jewellery is not worn only for the purpose of attracting attention, but it satisfies the desire not less deep rooted in humanity of establishing a distinctive mark of sex, rank and dignity. In India, the use of ornaments has a religious significance both among Hindus and Muslims. It is, for instance, a common belief of the Hindus that at least a speck of gold must be worn upon one's person to ensure ceremonial purity, but for the Muslims these stones and settings has a magico-religious significance[2]. They (Muhammadans) would inscribe on their amulets in Arabic characters the names of the Most High as Hindus draw and venerate the Swastika.

Indian woman has always been anxious to adorn even load herself with a large variety of bulky ornaments[3]. There was no departure from the traditional custom during the Mughal period[4]. All the travellers agree, and this is confirmed by our experience, that ornaments were "the very joy of their

1 Orme's Fragments, p. 438 ; Pyrard, I, pp. 380, 332.

2 "The primary intention in wearing ornaments is to secure protection against evil eye." Herklots' Islam in India, p. 313.

3 For ornaments of women and their photos see Rothfeed's Women of India, pp. 189-94. Also see Indian Jewellery, by Col. Hendley. A painting of the late 17th century and numbered 633, I.A.E., lent by Rampur State Library shows "A lady seated on a terrace". She is adorned with all possible jewellery. For another painting see a painting numbered 510 I.A.E. 'Nayika Subject', 1720 A.D. Another painting numbered 514 I.A.E. may also be mentioned.

4 Ovington, p. 320.

hearts[1]." They would deny themselves other necessities but would not forgo ornaments. It would, however, be a surprise to an Indian of the medieval age to note that in the 20th century our women have practically given up wearing ornaments, but they are still fond of possessing them. Ornaments had to be totally abandoned when a woman unfortunately became a widow[2].

Ladies were accustomed to the use of ornaments from their very childhood. The ears of both sexes and the noses of girls only were pierced through at a very tender age. Ornaments of gold, silver or brass, according to the means of the parents, were thrust through the pierced holes which grew wider and wider with age[3]. Every child was adorned with a silver or gold chain with bells tied round the waist and anklets round the legs[4].

Ladies bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abul Fazl enumerates 37 in his list in the Ain. Of the 5 ornaments allotted to the head, *Chauk* called *Sisphul* by Abul Fazl was a raised bell-shaped piece of gold or silver, hollow, and embellished from inside with attachments fastened to the hair over the crown of the head[5].

Mang was worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty. Some adorned their heads with bodkins studded with diamonds. *Kotbiladar* was perhaps the modern "*Chandraman*" worn on the forehead consisting of fine bands and a long centre drop. According to Manucci, "there hangs down

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1 Ovington, p. 320; First Englishmen in India, p. 76; Storia, III, p. 40.

2 Storia, III, p. 40.

3 Terry in Early Travels, p. 323; Storia, III, p. 40.

4 Samuel Purchas' India, p. 76.

5 Ain. III (J.N. Sarkar), p. 343.

from the middle of their head in the centre of their forehead a bunch of pearls or precious ornaments of the shape of star[1], sun or moon or flower[2] beset with glittering jewels[3]." On the right side of the star they wore a little round ornament set with a ruby with two pearls on either side. *Sekra*, or *Shikhara*, mainly used in the marriage ceremony and on other special occasions, consisted of seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face[4]. *Binduli* was another ornament meant for the forehead. Pendants were often worn in the ears. Usually made of gold, silver or copper they hung down from the ears almost touching the shoulders[5]. *Karnphul* (shaped like the flower Magrela), *Pipal-Patti* (crescent shaped), *Mor Bhanwar* (shaped like a peacock), *Bali* or *Vali* (a circlet) were the different forms of ear-rings. Usually one big and several smaller rings were worn on each ear[6]. *Champakali* usually adorned the shell of the ear.

Nose ornaments were unknown in India up to the early medieval period[7]. It seems quite certain that this fashion was brought in to India by the Muhammadan invaders from the north-west. Even after its introduction, nose ornaments were neither in general use in the country nor in the Imperial harems, as is clear from the Persian miniature

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1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384.

2 Storia, II, pp. 339-40.

3 Ovington, p. 320.

4 Ain. III, pp. 313-14. For a list of 37 ornaments as narrated by Abul Fazl see Ain. II, pp. 314-16.

5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384; Ovington, p. 320.

6 Hamilton, I, p. 163; Thevenot, III, Chap. XX, p. 37.

7 There is no reference to *Nath* or nose ornaments in the pre-Muslim literature. All paintings and sculptures of the Hindu period totally ignore this ornament. J.P.A.S.B. (N.S.), XXIII, 1927, pp. 295-96.

paintings[1].

However, it soon became the fashion to put on gold rings ornamented with gems, called *Nath*[2], and *Besar*. The former, worn in the nostril, had a ruby between two jewels ; *Besar* was a broad piece of gold with a jewel attached to its upper end and at the other end was a gold wire clasped on to the pearl and suspended from the nose. The more fashionable ones used a gold or silver nose pin[3], of the shape of *laung* or a flower-bud—a small stud of single diamond or ruby fixed at the corner of the left nostril[4]—which enhanced the beauty of the face.

Around the neck were worn necklaces of gold, pearls and other precious stones which contained five to seven strings of gold beads[5]. Another form of necklace called *Har* was a string of pearls interconnected by golden roses which came down almost to the stomach. Its centre contained a pendant made of diamonds or other precious stones[6]. *Guluband* consisted of a five or seven rose-shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck[7].

Arms without ornaments were considered a bad omen. The upper part of the arms above the elbows were ornamented by armlets, called *Bazuband*, usually two inches wide, inlaid with jewels, diamonds,

1 The paintings in the Razm Namah in Jaipur State Library show no nose ornaments : J.P.A. S.B. (N.S.), XXIII, Art. of Mr. N.B. Divatia on nose ornaments.

2 Thevenot Chap. XX, p. 37 ; De Laet, p. 81 ; Mandelslo, p. 50. In some contemporary paintings ladies are depicted without nose ornaments as shown in number 409 I.A.E. while in others (numbered 519 and 514 I.A.E.), the ladies are shown without *naths* in their noses.

3 Petermundy, II, p. 192.

4 See Ain. III, pp. 312-14. Indian Jewellery by Col. Hendley, p. 84, Pl. 63.

5 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 184.

6 Ain, III, p. 313 ; Storia, II, pp. 339-40.

7 Pyrard, I, p. 380.

etc., with a bunch of pearls hung down[1]. *Tad* was a hollow circle worn on the arm just below the *Bazuband*. *Gajrah*, a bracelet, made of gold or pearls adorned their wrists. *Kangan* was a variety of the bracelet, surmounted with small knobs[2]. *Jawe*, consisting of five golden barley corns strung on silk, was fastened on each wrist. They decorated their wrist up to the elbow with bracelets called *churis*, usually 10 or 12 in number on each arm[3]. *Bahu* was like the *Churi*, but was smaller. They covered their fingers with rings, usually one for each ; the rich studded them with diamonds and sapphires[4]. One of these put on the right thumb was fitted with a looking glass, called *arsi*[5].

Chhudr-Khantika was an ornamental waist-band fitted with golden bells. *Kati-Mekhala* was another form of golden belt which was highly decorative[6]. Rings (usually of silver) were worn on toes and fingers[7]. Three gold rings called *Jehar* served as ankle-ornaments. *Pail*, the ornament of the legs, called *Khal Khal* in Arabic, was commonly used. It produced an agreeable jingling sound when its wearer moved about[8]. *Ghunghru* consisting of small golden bells usually six on each ankle and strung upon silk were worn between the *Jehar* and *Khal Khal*[9]. *Bhank* and *Bichhwah* were the ornaments used for the instep. *Anwat* was the ornament to decorate the

1 Storia, II, p. 340.

2 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 184.

3 First Englishmen in India, p. 76 ; Pyrard, I, p. 377.

4 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 184.

5 Storia, II, p. 340 ; Thevenot, XX, pp. 37-8.

6 Ain-i-Akbari, III, p. 313.

7 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 184. The prohibition against wearing gold upon the feet was in vogue among the Hindus in all parts of the country. Women of India, p. 191.

8 Hamilton, I, p. 163. They put on their legs valuable metal rings. Storia, II, p. 340. Thomas Herbert's Travels, p. 38.

9 Ain, III, p. 313.

big toe. The large number of ornaments worn on their feet did not permit wearing a shoe and it consequently was dispensed with[1].

Men's ornaments

Men were not accustomed to so much ornamentation as women. Muslims were usually against it except that some of them put on amulets. Hindus, on the other hand, adorned themselves with ear and finger rings[2]. Rajputs[3] considered it a mark of dignity and nobility to put on ear-rings and bracelets at their elbows. Even common people among the Hindus wore ornaments if they could afford. All the Mughal kings except Aurangzeb adorned themselves with all possible jewellery on important occasions. Sir Thomas Roe relates that Jahangir on his birthday appeared highly attired and laden with ornaments of all sorts : "His turban was plumed with heron's feathers ; on one side was a ruby as big as a walnut ; on the other side was a large diamond ; in the centre was a large emerald, shaped like a heart. His sash was wreathed with a chain of pearls, rubies and diamonds. His neck chain consisted of three double strings of pearls. He wore armlets set with diamonds on his elbows ; he had three rows of diamonds on his wrists ; he had rings on nearly every finger[4]."

Ornaments were usually made of gold or silver but those who could not afford them contented them-

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1 Fitch in Early Travels, p. 223 ; Ovington, p. 320 describes a lady fully loaded with ornaments.

2 Ain, II, p. 126 ; Pyrard, I, p. 372 ; Hamilton, I, p. 163. On special occasions Hindus liked to put on necklaces.

3 Rajput paintings and their traditions corroborate it. There is an unfinished drawing of a darbar of Shahjahan in British Museum by Anuj Chaton. Here we see a young Rajput wearing pearls in his ears. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Second Session, Allahabad, 1938, p. 346.

4 Quoted in 'Indian Jewellery', pp. 10-11. For the ornaments worn by Akbar and Aurangzeb refer *Ibid.*

selves with less costly metals or substances[1]. Samuel Purchas also mentions the use of copper, glass, and tortoise shell to manufacture these ornaments[2]. According to Abul Fazl, ornaments were also made of a special kind of stone found near Rajgarh in Bihar[3]. Thevenot[4] and Linschoten[5] found that elephants' teeth or ivory was much used in India, especially in Rajasthan and Cambay where women wore "*manillas* or arm bracelets made of it[6]." *Churis* (bracelets) and rings made of *gainda* were highly esteemed[7]. The women of Bengal prized the use of Mother of Pearl in the preparation of bracelets[8]. The rural people satisfied themselves with necklaces made of cloves[9] and of baser metals.

Goldsmiths were always at work designing beautiful patterns. Abul Fazl says that the fee of a skilful artificer was 64 *dams* for each tola[10]. Gujrati Hindus were famous for their workmanship in gold and silver and according to Manucci, the dealers who "give the orders for this class of work go themselves or send agents to the diamond mines, to the kingdom of Pegu, to the Pescaria Coast or other places to buy the precious stones they required[11]." The artificers of Cambodia were reputed for their skill in making bracelets of elephants' teeth[12].

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1 Bernier, p. 224.
2 Purchas' India, p. 10.
3 Ain. II, p. 152. The stone resembles marble.
4 Thevenot, p. 12.
5 Linschoten, II, p. 3.
6 Hamilton, I, p. 129.
7 Petermundy, II, pp. 171-72.
8 Linschoten, II, p. 136.
9 Pelsaert's India, p. 25.
10 Ain, III, p. 314. According to Stavorinus (Vol. I, pp. 412-13) these goldsmiths were taken from the market to the customer's house where they worked sometimes on daily wages, but usually charged according to labour and pattern.
11 Storia, II, pp. 339-40.
12 Purchas, His Pilgrim, X, p. 93. These bracelets were also called *Mawn.*

CHAPTER II

DIET, TASTES AND INTOXICANTS

Restrictions on meat diet

The daily food of the common folk, Hindus and Muslims, was essentially the same except that meat, a popular dish with the latter, was abhorred by most of the Hindus of central and southern provinces on sentimental grounds[1]. Pelsaert's remark that "they (Hindus) know little of the taste of meat" and "never take anything that has blood[2]" is applicable to Jain, Brahaman[3], Vaish and some other castes in Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Central Hindustan. In the Panjab and Bengal even Brahamans ate meat and fish and Rajputs all over the country were accustomed to animal diet[4]. The Hindu masses were vegetarian from habit and economic necessity. It is interesting to note in this connection that some of the Mughal kings did not encourage the eating of meat. They even prohibited the killing of animals on certain days which they

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1 Ovington's remarks (p. 303) that 'neither delicacy of taste nor dread of sickness or even death could possibly tempt a Hindu' to take meat, are based on misconception and may be true in case of the few orthodox ones.

2 Varthema, p. 45.

3 Camoes in Canto VII, Est. XL writes about Brahmans :
To crown their meal no meaner life expires ;
Pulses, fruit and herbs alone their board requires.
(India in Portuguese Literature, p. 54). Badaoni (II, 103, Tr. II, 313) rightly observed that most of them would not take even garlic and onions because their view of life was to eat to live and not to live to eat. (Della Valle, p. 406).

4 Pelsaert's India, p. 76 ; Mandelslo, p. 58. Orme's Fragments p. 469. Some of the Rajputs took swine flesh (Della Valle, p. 435). According to Mukundram, a poet of the 16th century, some of the Kshatriyas adopted the sale of game as a regular profession and had little difficulty in finding customers. Bengal in the 16th century, p. 181.

regarded as sacred[1]. Humayun gave up the flesh of animals for some months from the date of his start on the campaign for the reconquest of India until his capture of Delhi. He seems to have been of the considered opinion that beef[2] was not a fit food for devout persons[3]. Akbar did not like meat and only took it occasionally to "conform to the spirit of the age[4]."

Later on, according to Badaoni, the Emperor gave up meat altogether and would not take even garlic and onions[5]. Though very fond of flesh, Jahangir kept up the traditions of his father to a certain extent and would not eat meat on Sundays[6] and Thursdays[7]. Swine flesh was a forbidden food for the Muhammadans.

Sweets, Fruits and Drinks

For Muslims, ready cooked and tasty food was available in the markets of the big cities like Delhi, Lahore and Agra[8]. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes of several kinds were always kept ready for the customers[9]. Manrique and Bernier have described these bakers' shops, and the things available there. An entire street in Agra was occupied

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1 Akbar abstained from meat on Fridays, and subsequently on Sundays, first day of every solar month, whole month of Farwardin and the month of Aban in which he was born. The killing of animals was stopped on Sundays by Akbar's orders (Ain. I, pp. 61-62). Jahangir later on added Thursday, the day of the birth of his father. Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 184.

2 A. N. I, 351, Tr. I, p. 634. When a beef broth and curry was brought before Humayun, his words were : "Oh unfortunate Kamran, was this the mode of your existence ? Did you feed the asylum of chastity on the flesh of cows ? What ! Could you not afford to keep a few goats for her subsistence ?" Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat, Stewart, p. 83.

3 Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat, Trans., Stewart, pp. 83-84.

4 Ain, I, p. 64.

5 Badaoni, II, 103, Tr. II, 313.

6 Jahangir gave up fish eating altogether. Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 188.

7 R. & B. I, p. 310.

8 Manrique, II, pp. 186-87 ; Bernier, p. 250.

9 Manrique, II, p. 187.

by skilful sweetmeat sellers "who proved their skill by offering wonderful sweet scented dainties of all kinds which would stimulate the most jaded appetite to gluttony[1]."

Muslim nobles were accustomed to sumptuous meals. Normally, if we are to believe Sir Thomas Roe, twenty dishes at a time were served at the tables of the nobles[2], but sometimes the number went even beyond fifty[3]. It is said that "exclusive of water and fuel, Abul Fazl consumed 22 seers of food daily[4]." Akbar took keen interest in bakery and had the best material brought for his kitchen[5]. *Sukhdas* rice from Bharaij, *Dewzirah* rice from Gwalior, *JinJin* rice from Rajori and *Nimlah* ghee from Hissar, ducks, water-fowls, etc., from various places and certain vegetables from Kashmir used to be brought for the royal kitchen[6]. Experienced cooks were recruited from various countries to prepare all kinds of grains, greens, meats, and also oily, sweet and spicy dishes. Sweetmeats[7], and fresh and dried fruits were freely enjoyed by both the communities. Moreland's view that "travellers say nothing to indicate that sweetmeats were, as now, a staple food[8]", is based on an erroneous assumption. Tavernier clearly states, "Workmen return from business and

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1 Manrique, II, pp. 156-57.

2 Roe's Embassy, p. 92.

3 Ain. (I, p. 57) says a hundred dishes can be prepared in an hour. On page XXVIII of the Preface of the Ain, it is written that in Abul Fazl's camp in Deccan, one thousand dishes were served daily, but it seems to be an exaggeration.

4 Ain. I, Preface, p. XXVIII. The seer of that time was one half of its modern successor.

5 Abul Fazl (Ain. I, p. 57) lays great stress on the proper care being shown for appropriate food ; see also Ain. I (1873), pp. 56-59.

6 Ain. I, p. 57. According to Manucci (Storia, II, p. 332) one thousand rupees were spent everyday as expenses of king's kitchen in Aurangzeb's reign. Storia, II, p. 332.

7 Rankings' Historical Researches, p. 266.

8 Moreland's India at the death of Akbar, p. 272.

according to the custom they make no supper, they eat some sweetmeats and drink a glass of water[1]." Le Blanc, a traveller to the Indies in the 17th century, writes, "The Bengallian live much on preserves, sweetmeats and spices." According to Della Valle, Hindus lived on butter, cheese, milk, bread and sweetmeats of which they prepared great varieties "by reason of their great abundance of sugar[2]." Manrique saw a bazar in Agra which contained no other shop but of sweetmeat sellers[3]. Bernier also saw many confectioners' shops in Delhi[4]. The seasonal fruits, such as mangoes, black berries, oranges, cucumbers, gneas (guavas), dates, figs, grapes, etc., were in abundance and were enjoyed by the rich and the poor alike. Fruits were imported in large quantities even from foreign countries, but being dear they were used only by the rich. According to Bernier, "Nothing is considered so great a treat, it (fruit) forms the chief expense of the *Omrahs*", and he goes on to cite the instance of his *Agah* who would not mind spending twenty crowns for his breakfast alone[5].

Varieties[6] of fruits from Persia and Kashmir, melons from Karez, Badakashan and Kabul, grapes, pears and apples from Samarkand, sweet pomegranates from Yazd[7], pineapples from Europe[8], cherries from Kabul adorned their dining tables. Jahangir

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1 Tavernier, p. 133.

2 Della Valle, p. 135. According to Grose, "Hindus were very fond of sweetmeats and many of their varieties were unknown." Grose's Voyages, Vol. I, p. 238.

3 Manrique, II, pp. 156-57.

4 Bernier, p. 250.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

6 Manrique, II, p. 127; Pyrard, I, p. 328; Roe's Embassy, pp. 241-42; Della Valle, p. 408.

7 R. & B. I, pp. 100-101.

8 Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, E. & D., VI, p. 349; Ain, I, p. 65; also see Storia, IV, p. 151.

also corroborates thus, "In the reign of my father many fruits of other countries could be had. In the bazars of Lahore every kind and variety that may be desired can be had in the grape season." Bernier was amazed to see the great consumption at Delhi of fresh fruits imported from foreign countries, such as Samarkand, Balkh and Persia[1]. They were available throughout winter[2]. Dry fruits included cocoanuts, dates, *makhana*, *kaulgattah*, walnuts, almonds, pistachios, etc. Fresh water[3] seems to have been the only drink at meals[4]. Mughal kings and some of their nobles were accustomed to the use of the Ganges water[5]. It was considered very pure and wholesome. The well-to-do would use ice in summer[6]. Saltpetre was also used for cooling water[7]. Rose water, *sharbat* and lemon juice mixed with ice were also used by the rich[8].

Diet of the common people

The common people, both Hindus and Muslims, could ill-afford to spend on rich and dainty dishes and contented themselves with simple food[9]. *Khichari*, the most popular dish of this class, has

1 Bernier, pp. 203-4.

2 Ain., I, pp. 65-66.

3 *Ibid.*

4 First Englishmen in India, p. 100 ; Ovington, p. 310 ; Pyrard, I, p. 259 ; Bernier, p. 356; Ain., I, p. 58.

5 Ain., I, p. 55. Tavernier (I, p. 95) writes : "The principal reason why the Ganges water is so much esteemed is that it never becomes bad and engenders no vermin." Even Aurangzeb drank it (Bernier, pp. 221, 364). Orme's Fragments, p. 469. For the use of Ganges water by Muslim rulers see Annals fo Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Vol. I, pt. III, pp. 1-15.

6 Ain., I, (1873), p. 56. A seer of ice cost 5 *dams* and only 15½ *jitals* if brought by carriage.

7 The price of saltpetre varies from 3/4 to 4 maunds per rupee. Ain., I, (1873), p. 56.

8 A. N. I, 207 ; Tr., I, 421.

9 Bernier, p. 249.

been referred to by almost all travellers[1]. Pelsaert describes it as composed of green pulse mixed with rice and cooked with water over a little fire. Usually a little butter and salt were added to it[2]. Rice formed the chief, if not the only, food of the people of the South. The Gujaratis lived mainly on rice and curd[3]. There was some variety in the meals taken by the Kashmiris which instead consisted of boiled rice and boiled salted vegetables[4], chiefly a leafy plant called '*karam*'. They added *achars* (pickles), if available[5]. It was usual with Indians of all classes and communities to take betel after their meals. The rich would mix with it costly spices.

Wheat, however, was the primary food of the people of the North who ate *chappatis* of wheat or barley flour dipped in a little butter[6]. As Abul Fazl writes, the staple food of the generality of the people in the morning was limited to *jawar* or *bajra*[7] flour kneaded with brown sugar and water[8]. We cannot accept De Laet's view that there was only one regular meal in a day[9], in the face of what Abul

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1 Mandelslo, p. 64 ; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 263 ; Della Valle, p. 409 ; Tavernier, p. 124; Thevenot Chap. XXIX ; Hamilton, I, p. 162 ; Ovington, pp. 310-11. *Khichari* seems to have been more common in eastern and southern India.

2 Hamilton (I, p. 162) found in it a 'pleasing nourishment.' De Laet's (p. 89) contention that this dish was taken in the evening is doubtful. A special type of preparation called Gujarati *khichari* was reserved for special occasions. J. U. P. Hist. Soc., XV, Pt. I, p. 67.

3 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 76.

4 Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri (Urdu Trans.) p. 105.

5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384 ; Mango pickle was much liked. Linschoten I, 209. Sometimes the inhabitants of Kashmir and Orissa would steep the cooked rice in cold water to eat it the next day. Ain., II, pp. 128, 349.

6 Mandelslo, p. 64 ; Della Valle, p. 409 ; Tavernier, Pt. II, p. 70.

7 Ain., II, 240 ; Della Valle, p. 409 ; Stavorinus, II, p. 386.

8 Tavernier, p. 124.

9 Moreland's India at the death of Akbar, p. 271.

Fazl and other contemporary writers say. They managed to have light refreshments in the afternoon in the form of some parched pulse or other grains[1]. The middle class, comprising shopkeepers, traders, merchants, brokers and bankers, were well off. They took their meals thrice daily, viz., at 8 or 9 in the morning, 4 or 5 in the afternoon and 8 or 9 at night[2].

Diet of upper and middle classes

The middle and upper classes invariably used wheat flour, boiled rice and cooked vegetables of various sorts[3]. *Puris* and *luchis*[4] were also taken on special occasions. Hindus, in general being vegetarians, confined themselves to pulses, curd, butter, oil, milk[5] and its several preparations as *khir*[6] and *khowa*[7]. Ghee and cheese were also freely used by them[8]. Curd or *dahi* was usually taken at noon[9]. The favourite dish of the Muhammadans was meat in its several preparations. They freely took beef, mutton, fish, flesh of goats, sheep and other beasts and birds of prey[10]. With this were mixed *achars*, spices[11], cloves, cinnamon[12], pepper and many other condiments to increase the flavour and whet the

1 Tavernier states that *khichari* was their evening meal, p. 124; Pelsaert's India, p 61.

2 Ovington, p. 313 ; Tavernier I, 324 ; Also see De Laet, p. 86

3 For vegetables see Ain., I, pp. 58-60.

4 Padumavat (Hindi), pp. 90-92.

5 For reference to milk their favourite food see Ovington, p. 303 Monserrate's commentary, p. 8 ; Mandelslo, p. 68.

6 According to Ovington (pp. 310-12) it is a delicious dish prepared by boiling rice to which is added proportionate sugar, dry nuts and almonds.

7 Mandelslo, p. 13 ; Another well-known preparation of milk.

8 Della Valle, p. 435.

9 Bernier (1891), p. 354.

10 Mandelslo, p. 68. Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 380 Bernier, p. 250; Storia, III, p. 43.

11 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384.

12 Ovington, p. 335.

appetite[1]. They had a special taste for *achars* of mangoes and cloves[2]. The *chappatis* of the rich made of fine white flour kneaded with 15% ghee[3] were called '*roghuni*'[4]. When mixed with sugar it tasted like palm cake, according to Manrique[5]. Unlike the Hindus[6], Muhammadans rarely ate *puris* or *luchis*. On special occasions white loaves kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel and poppy seeds were prepared[7]. Sometimes their bread was made of *khuskah*[8].

The vegetarian dishes generally meant for Hindus were of a special quality containing a major portion of butter, several species of pulses, herbs, vegetables and rice particularly '*birinj*'[9]. Mukund-ram's gorgeous description of feasts and of vegetable dishes leaves us in little doubt as to their popularity among the upper classes[10]. The curious reader will find a detailed list of various vegetable[11], meat and sweet dishes in the Ain-i-Akbari, Volume I (1873), p. 59. Similarly, Muhammadans prepared rich and aromatic *birinjes*[12] as *qabuli, duzdbiryan, qimah palao* and pudding of rice mixed with almonds and raisins and strewn with butter and pepper. Sweet dishes consisted of *halwa*, sweetmeats and comfits

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1 Linschoten, II, p. 75 ; Manrique, II, p. 109.

2 Linschoten, II, pp. 75-77.

3 Ain., I, (1873), p. 61.

4 *Roghuni* is a bread with a great deal of ghee. Manrique, II, p. 188.

5 Manrique, II, p. 188.

6 Padumavat (Hindi), pp. 90-92.

7 A. N. I, 207 ; Tr. I, 421.

8 Ain., I, p. 61.

9 *Birinj* means rice cooked with certain vegetables, etc.

10 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 181.

11 *Zard Birinj, Shir Birinj, Khichari* and *Bandinjan* were the special preparations of rice. For their details see Ain., I, p. 59. Also see Padumavat ed. by Ram Chandra Shukla (Hindi) Pt. II, pp. 90-92, for various dishes prepared on the marriage of Ratna Sen.

12 For their composition see Ain., I, (1873), pp. 59-60. Also see Hobson Jobson Pilau.

prepared from refined sugar and *faluda*[1]. Various conserves of *maskan*, water melons, grapes, lemons, oranges[2], etc., and also *rishta-i-khatai*[3] perfumed with rose water, musk and grey ambergris were also kept ready. The flesh of domesticated and wild animals and birds roasted, fried and made into soup, was their daily food. Partridges, ducks and hares, when available, too, formed part of their dishes[4]. An idea of the variety of dishes served at a highly placed Muhammadan's dinner can be had from the description of Asaf Khan's banquet to Sir Thomas Roe[5] and that of a Governor of Ahmedabad to Mandelslo[6].

Kitchen utensils and crockery

Indians baked their loaves called *chappatis* on iron plates[7], a frying pan[8] or on an oven over a fire of cow-dung instead of fuel[9]. The utensils used in Hindu kitchens, as plates, cups, water jugs, candlesticks, etc., were all made of brass or bronze[10], as these had to be scrubbed clean every time they were used. Linschoten saw people at Goa drink out of a '*copper kan*' ; but they used earthenware[11] for cooking purposes. De Laet also speaks of earthenwares being used probably by Muslims in kitchens in the 17th century. The utensils used

1 A.N.I., 208 ; Tr. I, 423. Herklots App. 5.
2 Pyrard, I, p. 328.
3 Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, E & D, VI, p. 343.
4 Bernier, p. 252.
5 Purchas, IV, p. 421. Della Valle (pp. 407-08) says he was present at Asaf Khan's banquet to Sir Thomas Roe which is nothing but falsehood.
6 Mandelslo, p. 69.
7 Ain., I, (1873), p. 61.
8 Mandelslo, p. 68 ; Della Valle, p. 409.
9 *Ibid.* Orme's Fragments, p. 472.
10 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 181. About the poorer sort Mandelslo writes : "Their dishes, drinking cups and napkins are made of fig leaves of which they also make pitchers and oil pots". Mandelslo, p. 85.
11 Bernier (p. 356) says that the water was stored in earthen jars.

in Muslim kitchens were either earthenware[1] or made from copper. The Mughal kings generally used gold or silver utensils[2] and were fond of precious China and glassware. Aurangzeb contented himself with earthen or copper vessels. The copper utensils used in the royal kitchens were treated with tin every fortnight, whereas those for the princes were only done once a month[3].

Environment of the Hindu kitchen

Cleanliness was most important, as it is even now, in the preparation and service of food in Hindu kitchens[4]. They took care to confine themselves to home-made dishes and abstained as far as possible from using any edible cooked in the market[5]. A special place, called *chauka*, invariably rubbed over with cow-dung, was reserved for cooking meals and none was allowed to enter with shoes on[6]. Cooking was never entrusted to anybody except a high-caste Brahman or to a member of their own caste[7]. They would prefer to go without meals than to accept a dish defiled by the touch of a low caste[8] person or that of a non-Hindu. Such food was thrown away. Hindus usually took two meals a day[9].

Bathing was a prerequisite before meals[10]. The travellers did not fail to note that after their

1 Linschoten, I, p. 188.
2 Ain., I, (1873), p. 59.
3 *Ibid.*
4 Ovington, p. 312.
5 Pyrard, I, p. 377.
6 Macauliffe, I, p. 239. Also Ain., III, (Sarkar), 24 and Storia, III, p. 87.
7 Pyrard, I, p. 377.
8 Ovington, p. 312.
9 Pyrard, I, p. 377. 'To eat twice in the day or night is not approved', Ain., III, p. 325 (Sarkar).
10 Pyrard, I, p. 377 ; Jahangir's India, p. 76. Travels of Nikitin in India in 17th century, p. 17 ; Della Valle, p. 440.

morning wash the Hindus would sit down on a piece of mat or fine cloth (in case of the rich) spread over ground rubbed over with cow-dung[1] and mutter their prayer. Hindus would at the outset set apart a small portion of their food as an humble homage to the Gods[2]. Akbar also used to put apart the share of the *dervishes* before he commenced his meal[3].

In case of ordinary people, the leaves of the trees stitched together with rushes (*patal*) were placed before them to serve as plates[4]. The diner rubbed the *patal* with a little salt and butter, over which were poured rice boiled without salt with some vegetables and curd[5]. As soon as they had finished their meals, the leaves were removed and the ground rubbed afresh[6]. In the case of *rajas* and other rich men the food was brought from the kitchen in bowls or vessels of silver or gold[7]. To begin with, they took out rice (cooked without salt or other condiments) according to choice and placed it in a large dish "adding some stew to it". Next they partook of vegetables and other dishes according to taste and, mixing a part of them with rice, ate them in small morsels[8]. Akbar used to commence his meals with milk or curd. Table manners required not to use one's left hand or to lick the fingers[9]. Wives did not make it a custom to join

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1 J.R.A.S. Bengal letters, Vol. IV, 1938. "Description of Indostan and Guzarat" (1611 A. D.) Trans. by Rev. H. Hosten S. J. : Pyrard, I, p. 377 ; Ain., III, p. 324 (Sarkar) ; Jahangir's India, p. 76 ; Storia, III, pp. 41-42.

2 Ain., III, (Sarkar), p. 325 ; Storia, III, p. 3.

3 Ain., I, (1873), p. 58.

4 Ain., III, (Sarkar), p. 325 ; Della Valle, II, p. 327 ; Tavernier, I, p. 60 ; Bartolomeo, p. 159.

5 Storia, III, p. 42.

6 Pyrard, I, p. 391.

7 Storia, III, p. 41.

8 Storia, III, p. 42.

9 De Laet, pp. 91-92.

their husbands at table, but took meals separately[1].

While drinking water, the Hindus would not allow the cup to touch their lips[2], but would pour water from it straight into their throat from a distance. The tumblers were made of copper[3], gold or silver according to the owner's position. After dinner they would clean their mouths, hands and feet[4].

Table manners of the Muhammadans

The Muhammadans did not attach importance to these formalities. Their kitchen and table manners were quite simple, though not always as clean as those of the Hindus. They were free to cook and eat wherever and whatever they liked, except the flesh of swine. A *dastarkhwan* was spread on the floor and dishes arranged thereon[5]. The whole family sat around and partook of the dishes jointly. The butler placed before each guest a round dish and a portion of food[6] and covered it with fig or other leaves[7]. No napkins were used and even the procedure of washing was not always adhered to[8]. The more well-to-do among them used a superior embroidered silken '*dastarkhwan*' with artificial flowers of gold and silver. They sometimes made use of spoons[9], though this was

1 Storia, III, p. 42.

2 Linschoten, I, pp. 261-62 ; Della Valle, pp. 81-82.

3 Pyrard, I, p. 378 ; Della Valle refers to it as 'drinking in the air'; Della Valle, p. 43.

4 Storia, III, p. 43. Muhammadans would use pea-flour to remove grease from their hands. Storia, II, p. 41.

5 Mandelslo, p. 28. Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat, Stewart, pp. 82-3.

6 De Laet, pp. 91-92.

7 Early Travels in India, p. 96.

8 No traveller has referred to their washing of hands, etc., before meals. Mandelslo, p. 68.

9 Spoons made of Hindi nuts. The Arabs call it *narjil*, Hindustanis *nalir*. B. N. 509. Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat, Stewart, pp. 82-3; Linschoten, I, p. 207.

not the usual custom[1].

The manner of cooking in the royal kitchen, the process of sending in of plates, the measures adopted to check poisoning and their complete success speak well for those who devised them. The curious reader can read the details about these measures in the pages of Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari[2].

INTOXICANTS

Prohibition of wine

Wine, called *araq* by Babar[3], was a drink forbidden to Muslims by their religion. Custom forbade it for the generality of Hindus also. So it was not surprising that the masses were opposed to intemperance which was looked upon as a vice and even a sin. Terry rightly observes about the temperance of the common people, Hindus and Muslims, that they would "rather die than eat or drink anything their law forbids[4]." They looked upon drinking as a second madness and, therefore, there is the same word in their language for a drunkard and a madman[5]. Wine was considered unwholesome and ruinous for health[6].

The strict prohibition enforced by almost all Mughal kings was no less a factor in discouraging the use of wine among the people. Severe punishments were inflicted for excessive drinking and disorderly conduct[7]. Though himself addicted to drinking, Jahangir discouraged its use among his

1 "They eat with fingers", writes De Laet, pp. 91-92.

2 Ain., I, (1873), pp. 58-59.

3 B. N., pp. 385-86.

4 Terry in Early Travels, p. 317.

5 *Ibid* ; Storia IV, p. 208.

6 R. & B., I, p. 306.

7 Badaoni, II, 301-2 ; Tr. II, 311.

subjects. He himself abstained from wine on Thursday nights and Friday evenings. He found it bad for the temperament and strictly forbade all sorts of intoxicants which "must neither be made nor sold[1]." Of course, Aurangzeb, who "drank nothing but water," could not tolerate wine[2]. In 1668 he issued orders strictly prohibiting the use of all intoxicating liquors[3]. European travellers confirm the strictness of the measures adopted to enforce prohibition[4]. While acknowledging the occasional excesses of certain individuals here and there, we may accept the verdict of Terry as to the general sobriety[5] of all ranks of the population except the nobles attached to the court who formed a class in themselves. In spite of the strict orders of the Mughal kings, nobles indulged in drinking and many of them fell victims to alcohol[6]. This over-indulgence and disregard of the prohibitory orders was primarily due to the weak policy followed by the Emperors who, in order to keep company, would invite many of their grandees to attend the royal drinking parties which were held quite frequently, and thus encouraged its use[7]. Even Aurangzeb, who was very abstemious, failed to "keep the Mughal aristocracy back from drink." Sir Jadunath Sarkar notices in the news letters of the court "many reports of wine selling, wine drinking in the camp bazars and houses and his nobles and among the

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1 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 7. For Akbar see Badaoni, II, 301-2 ; Tr. II, 311.

2 Tavernier, II, p. 124.

3 Muntakhab ul Lubab in Elliot and Dowson VI, p. 283.

4 Petermundy, II, p. 134 ; Storia, II, p. 6 ; Bernier, p. 253 ; Ovington, p. 296.

5 Early Travels, p. 317 ; Terry, XI, p. 232.

6 A. N., III, p. 783, R. & B., 1, 35, 134, 141, etc. Ain., I, pp. 340, 391. Shaikh Abdur Rahim of Lakhnar drank so heavily that he frequently got insane. Ain., I, pp. 524, 543.

7 B. N., p. 406 ; Ain., I, p. 207 ; Storia, II, p. 6.

garrisons of the forts[1]."

Mughals' addiction to drink

All the Mughal kings excepting only Aurangzeb took wine several times a day. Babar[2] and Jahangir[3] were renowned drunkards, and the former used to say :

نوروز و نوبهار و مے و دلبری خوشت
بابر بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست[4]

Jahangir's appetite had grown so much during the later years of his life that he would take 20 cups of doubly distilled liquor, 14 of which he drank during the day, and the rest at night[5]. Humayun was more fond of opium and seldom took wine[6]. Akbar and Shahjahan would not pass the limits of decency. The former usually "sober in his cups" would only rarely drink to excess. Shahjahan like Babar gave up wine during the arduous Deccan campaigns ; "the entire stock of wine was thrown into the Chambal, and the precious cups of gold and silver were broken and distributed among the poor and the needy[7]." Aurangzeb totally abstained from it. Tavernier's assertion that he saw Aurangzeb drunk on three occasions is wholly fabulous[8]. We cannot believe him in the face of the authentic contemporary records.

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1 History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, p. 461 ; Storia, II, 6, 157, 313. According to Manucci, "the pots and pans in which the beverage was prepared were broken daily by *muhtasibs*". Storia, II, pp. 5-7.

2 B. N., pp. 385-86, 414-15.

3 R. & B., II, p. 35.

4 "The new year, the spring, the wine, and the beloved are pleasing
Enjoy them Babar, for the world is not to be had a second time."

5 "At first it was six cups every evening, each cup being 7½ tolas ; altogether 45 tolas. The wine was usually mixed with water. Now I drank 6 cups each of which was 6 tolas and 3 mashas ; altogether 37½ tolas". R. & B., II, p. 35.

6 "Humayun enjoying a wine party" Painting No. 630, I.A.E.

7 Qazvini, pp. 90-91 quoted in Saksena's Shahjahan, p. 27.

8 Tavernier, p. 124.

Wines

The most common and perhaps the cheapest drink was the *Tari* or juice of cocoanut, palm or date trees[1]. Pleasant in taste and flavour, it was drunk with pleasure throughout India[2]. Cocoa juice was the principal ingredient for the preparation of a liquor which "drinks as deliciously as wine[3]." Indians, particularly the Goanese[4], liked it much and drank it like water[5]. It was very strong, especially after the third distillation[6]. *Nira* was another kind of wine drawn from *arequier* tree and was sweet like milk[7]. *Mahwa* was another tree whose fruit[8] yielded an intoxicant liquor[9]. *Kherra*[10] and *Bhadwar*[11] were famous for this particular wine which was considered unwholesome, unless boiled[12]. Wine was prepared from refined sugar by a chemical process[13]. According to Ovington, a wine called "*Jagre*" was extracted from black sugar[14]. Wines were also manufactured from rice[15] and *toddy*[16]. Some superior kinds of wines

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1 B.N., p. 509.

2 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. VIII, p. 17 ; Pedro Teixeria, p. 198 Ovington, p. 239.

3 Mandelslo, p. 27.

4 First Englishmen in India, p. 77.

5 Linschoten, II, p. 47.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Ovington, p. 239.

8 Called *Gilaundah*. Ain., I, (1873), p. 70.

9 De Laet, pp. 28-9. Manual Godino de Eredia (1611) mentions a wine which the Indians made from a certain fruit called *Mauh* mixed with the bark of Babuli tree and tasted very well. J.R.A.S.B., Vol. IV, (1938), p. 541.

10 Petermundy, II, p. 98.

11 De Laet, pp. 28-9.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Bernier, p. 253.

14 Ovington, p. 238.

15 Pedro Teixeria, p. 197.

16 Ovington, p. 238 ; De Laet, pp. 28-9.

were imported from foreign countries like Portugal[1] and Persia[2]. Persian wine manufactured from grapes was smuggled into the Mughal dominions in spite of strict prohibition.

Opium

Opium[3] called *afion* was in use among a large number of people, especially Muhammadans[4] and Rajputs.[5] According to Mandelslo, "They take every day a small pill of it about the bigness of a pea[6]." It stimulated the old, the weary and the fatigued and maintained the spirits of workers so that they would not feel the rigour of the work[7]. The messengers and *harkaras* who had to traverse long distances took it in order to "hearten themselves[8]." Rajputs were specially addicted to it and took large quantities of a drug, called *madhava-ra-peala*. They would even double the dose on the eve of a battle[9]. Bernier writes, "It is an interesting sight to see them (Rajputs) on the eve of a battle with the fumes of opium in their heads." Its stimulating effect animated them with extraordinary courage and bravery to fight more valiantly and heroically[10]. Opium was also used as a sedative for old men and

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1 First Englishmen in India, p. 77.

2 Pedro Teixeria, p. 197. Shiraz wine was much liked (E.F. 1934-36, p. 166). Babar speaks of Bukhara wine as the strongest of all. B.N., pp. 83, 85.

3 Opium was planted in Bihar and Malwa from ancient times. Moreland's India at the death of Akbar, p. 158. Date of its introduction in India is unknown. (Tod 1, p. 507).

4 Pyrard, I, p. 200. According to Manual Godino (1611) it was much used in Muhammadan medicines. J.R.A.S.B., IV., p. 551.

5 Tod, I, (Ed. 1877), p. 508.

6 Mandelslo, p. 67.

7 Linschoten, II, p. 114 ; Grose, I, pp. 122-23,

8 Mandelslo, p. 67.

9 Bernier, p. 40.

10 *Ibid.*

children[1]. Some of the Mughal emperors were also very fond of this intoxicant, particularly Humayun and Jahangir[2]. The former used to say : "I am an opium eater, if there is any delay in my comings and goings, do not be angry with me[3]." The latter being a habitual opium-eater would repeat the dose at least twice a day[4]. The only reference to opium in the Babar-Nama is in connection with Qasim-i-Ali who is described as the "opium eater[5]." According to Father Ridolfo, "Akbar used to take *post*, a preparation of opium, diluted and modified by various admixtures of spices[6]. Monserrate also confirms it[7].

Other drugs

Bhang was another intoxicant commonly used by the poor[8], who sometimes mixed it with nutmegs and mace[9], whereas the rich added cloves, camphor, amber, musk and opium to it[10]. It kept one in a pleasant mood. Sometimes green areca was put into it to increase its effect. It was taken to increase appetite. Under its intoxicating effect one could undertake hard labour without feeling exhaustion. But an excessive dose of it would make one unconscious. Jahangir prohibited the use of *bhang* and *buza* altogether, declaring that they were injurious to health[11].

1 Ain., II, p. 196. Also see Ain., I, p. 417 f.n. 2.

2 R. and, B.I., p. 310.

3 H.N., G (Bev.), p. 131. A.N. I, 363 ; Tr. I, 654.

4 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 310. See painting No. 637 Mughal, 17th century, lent by Rampur State Library "Bust of Jahangir". He holds an opium bowl in his hands. Tuzuk-Lowe, Tr. 44-49 ; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri (Urdu), p. 204.

5 B. N., p. 385.

6 Monserrate, p. 199.

7 Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 336.

8 Linschoten, II, pp. 115-16.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.* Babar was fond of this intoxicant. Macauliffe, I, 120.

11 R. & B. I, p. 157 ; Petermundy, II, p. 247.

Tobacco

Tobacco[1] gained rapid popularity among common people soon after its introduction into India in 1605 by the Portuguese[2]. In spite of the advice of his physicians, Akbar enjoyed it sometimes. Asad Beg gives us a beautiful description of the pipe and the presentation ceremony[3]. Smoking became so habitual with one and all in the short interval of a decade or so that Jahangir had to order its prohibition by a special enactment in 1617 on account of the disturbance that "it brings about in most temperaments[4] and constitutions." But the decree remained a dead letter and was more honoured in its breach than observance[5]. Its wide popularity among the lower strata of society may be estimated from Manrique's account. While a prisoner at Multan, he had to accede to the request of his guards for some money to enable them to satisfy their craving for tobacco[6].

Muhammadans were specially accustomed to it and consumed a major quantity of the intoxicant by frequent smoking[7]. It was their chief and customary entertainment after meals[8]. A long brass

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1 According to Moreland, tobacco plant was first established in the province of Gujarat where the leaf was obtainable in 1613.

2 Manrique, II, p. 250. Moreland's India at the death of Akbar, p. 158.

3 "Stem three cubits in length was the finest to be procured at Achin beautifully dried and coloured both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel, the oval shaped mouth-piece of Yaman cornelian betel leaf of very superior workmanship and a golden burner all elegantly arranged in a silver tray and presented to the emperor." See painting No. 525 : I.A.E., middle 18th century, lent by C.A.A. Museum for a good *hukka* of those days. See E & D, VI, pp. 165-67.

4 R. & B. I, p. 374.

5 R. & B. I, p. 370 ; A.N. III, p. 103 ; Badaoni, II, 357.

6 Manrique, II, p. 250, Storia, II, p. 175.

7 See Hobson Jobson.

8 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 280; Storia, I, p. 63. For painting of a "Nawab smoking a *hukka*" see painting No. 681, I.A.E., 18th century.

pipe adapted to a large crystal hubble-bubble fixed in a brass frame was used for smoking[1]. It was usual to see people sitting cross-legged at their doors with *hukka* pipes in their mouths. Sometimes women, too, indulged in smoking[2]. The consumption of the drug increased so much that Manucci mentions Rs. 5,000 as tobacco duty for a day in Delhi alone. The abolition of the Act, according to him, came as a great relief for the poor class[3].

Betels

Betel leaf called *pan* was in most common use throughout India among all classes of people[4]. The *pan* consisted of the betel leaf, an areca nut or *supari*[5] cut into small pieces, lime water and *katha*[6]. The rich added camphor and musk to it and tied both its leaves with a silk thread. There were several species of betel of which the choicest were *Bilhari*, *Kaker*, *Jaiswar*, *Kapuri*, *Kapur Kant*, and *Bangalah*[7]. *Makhi*[8] leaves of Bihar and *Keroah*[9] of Orissa were much sought after by the betel lovers. The former held the reputation of being delicate in fragrance, strong in taste and good in colour[10]. Betel was necessarily chewed after

1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 189. In the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, there is a *hukka* of Mughal days probably used by the emperors.

2 Painting No. 524, middle of 18th century, I.A.E., lent by C.A.A. Museum.

3 Storia, II, 175.

4 Mandelslo, p. 33.

5 Linschoten says that Malabaris and Portuguese called it 'arecea', the Gujaratis and Deccanis *supari* and the Arabians *tauffel*; Linschoten, II, p. 64.

6 Betel leaves are mixed with a sort of "lime made by Oyster and areca". A collection of voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company, p. 1; Linschoten, II, p. 64. For a special type of *pan* called *Birah* see Ain., I, (1873), pp. 72-73.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Ain., I, p, 151.

9 *Ibid*, p. 126.

10 Petermundy, II, p. 96.

meals, but most of the people went on taking it throughout the day[1].

Tea and coffee

Tea and coffee were taken by quite a good number of people, especially those of the Coromandel coast[2]. Brahamans and Banias were particularly fond of it. Thevenot asserts that Banias and Brahamans drank nothing but water, "wherein they put coffee and tea[3]." Ovington makes us believe that tea was taken by Banias without sugar or mixed with a small quantity of conserved lemons[4]. According to Della Valle, many people in India used a liquor called coffee which was made "from a black seed boiled in water which turned it almost into the same colour." Tea and coffee were not taken as beverages but as intoxicants[5]. Certain special vessels made of tin covered with cases and cloth wrappings were used to keep the tea hot[6]. The rich and the nobles took delight in partaking of coffee with their friends. Hamilton was invited by the Nawab of Tattah to "take a dish of coffee" with him[7]. There seem to have been coffee shops, if not coffee-houses, in some of our principal cities, like Delhi and Ahmedabad[8].

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1 Storia, I, p. 63. For a painting see "Lady holding plate of betel-nuts" painting No. 670, I.A.E., Deccani, 1700 A.D. ; Pyrard, I, p. 200. Also see Tod, I, (Crookes) 346, 481, 552, 570, II, 969, 1040 ; Linschoten, II, p. 64.

2 Pyrard, I, p. 202.

3 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XLVII, p. 81.

4 Ovington, p. 306.

5 Della Valle, p. 365.

6 Pyrard, I, p. 202.

7 Hamilton, I, (New Edition), p. 119.

8 Storey, II, Fasc. III, p. 460. Also see Mughal Literature by M.A. Ghani, Pt. III, p. 196.

CHAPTER III

GAMES, SPORTS AND OTHER AMUSEMENTS

Leaving aside twentieth century amusements like cinema-going, flying, etc., that have come to us through contact with the West, the pastimes in vogue during Mughal times were similar to those commonly found today. The difference, if any, lies in details only. Chess, *chaupar* and playing cards were the chief among indoor games and were accessible to the rich and the poor alike. The various types of tiger play, games of *gutis* and the games of sheep and goats were favourites with the rural population. Of the out-door diversions, hunting, animal fights and *chaugan* were the privilege of the few, while *ishq-bazi,* wrestling, etc., were enjoyed by one and all. It is regrettable that no reference to *kabadi* is traceable in early records. But the game must have been played in the villages, as it is even today. Jugglers and magicians formed a class by themselves. Boys amused themselves, as narrated by Mukundram in his poem "*Chandi*", with the flying of kites[1], mock fights, blindman's buff, climbing of trees, *bag chal* and such other common pastimes[2]. Manucci thus sums up the amusements of the princesses and other high class ladies, "They have the permission to enjoy the pleasure of the comedy and the dance, to listen to tales and stories of love, to recline upon beds of flowers, to walk about in gardens, to listen to the murmuring of the running waters, to hear singing or other similar pastimes[3]."

1 Painting No. 537, I.A.E., "Girls flying kites", lent by C.A.A. Museum (Treasurywala collection). Kites are of fine flowery paper and triangular shaped.

2 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 186.

3 Storia, II, pp. 352-53.

Playing cards

This is an old game and was in vogue in India long before the advent of the Mughals. M. Ashraf's view that "it appears to have been first introduced into Hindustan by the Mughal emperor Babar[1]" is not conclusive. The external as well as internal evidence is against it. The names of all the 12 suits were in the Sanskrit dialect instead of Persian till the time of Akbar[2], who introduced a change by renaming the last seven suits and reconstituting *dhanpati*, the fifth, out of a total of 12[3]. Moreover, Abul Fazl's remark that "the ancient sages took the number 12 as basis and made the suit to consist of 12 cards" shows that the game was practised in pre-Mughal days[4]. From the few stray references available about this game in contemporary Mughal records, it appears that the game was favoured by the rich and the poor alike[5].

The pack consisted of 12 suits of 12 cards each making a total of 144 with different kinds of kings and followers[6]. Ashraf's contention that the "old Mughal pack of cards was made up of 8 suits of 12 cards each" (instead of 12 suits) is not borne out by documentary evidence. As is clearly mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, the ancient game of 12 suits, each of

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1 Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, Vol. I, p. 296.

2 Viz. *ashwapati, gajapati, narpati, gadhpati, dhanpati, dalpati, nawapati, tipati, surapati, asrpati, banpati,* and *ahipati.* (Ain., I, pp. 318-19), 1939.

3 The last seven were renamed and reconstituted during Akbar's reign from dhanpati as king of assignments, *padshah-i-qimash, padshah-i-chang, padshah-i-zar-i-sofid, padshah-i-shamsher, padshah-i-taj* and *padshah-i-ghulaman.* Ain., I, p. 319.

4 The earliest reference to it, as Erskine notes, in Oriental literature is in Babar-Nama when Babar sent a set of playing cards (*ganjafa*) to Shah Hasan in Tattah at the latter's repeated requests. B.N. (Bev.), p. 584. f.n.

5 B.N., p. 584 ; Ain., I, pp. 318-20 ; Roe's Embassy (Edition 1926), p. 293.

6 Ain., I, p. 319.

which had 12 cards, was not altered. What Akbar did was to make "some suitable alterations in the cards[1]," and to reconstitute the last 8 of the suits of the original pack. The first four, viz., *ashwapati* (lord of horses), *gajpati* (king of elephants), *narpati* (king of infantry), and *gadhpati* (king on throne over a fort), remained intact[2]. Ashraf, under some misconception about this, appears to have omitted to count the first four and miscalculated the number as reduced from 12 to 8. This view is further confirmed by the fact that none of the new names have been given the assignments of the first four.

As distinguished from our present-day cards, they were all in pictures, the highest represented the king, the second highest a *vizir* and the rest were followers from one to ten. In the topmost suit of *ashwapati*, for example, the king was shown on horseback with the umbrella (*chhatra*), the standard and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represented a *vizir* on horseback and the rest were with pictures of horses from one to ten[3]. The superiority of suits seems to have been observed in the order given in the Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, viz., the first six of these suits were called *bishbar* (powerful) and the six last were *kambar* or weak[4].

The game continued to be a favourite with the successive emperors, Aurangzeb being the only exception. During one of his visits[5], Thomas Roe found Jahangir immersed in it. The game was

1 Ain., I, p. 319.

2 *Ibid*, p. 318.

3 *Ibid*. For later 18th century Mughal cards, see "Ten Ivory Playing Cards", by Ajit Ghose, Calcutta, Painting No. 653, I.A.E.

4 Ain., I, pp. 318-19.

5 Roe's Embassy (1926), p. 293.

equally popular with the common people[1] who displayed several tricks at cards.

Chess

Chess has all along been one of the most common diversions of the Indian people[2]. During the Mughal period the king, the nobles and the commoners all took great delight in playing this game[3]. Akbar is said to have played the game of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of the *Pachisi* Court at Fatehpur Sikri[4]. The Mughal aristocrats were specially interested in it, and Manucci, who was a frequent visitor to their palaces, writes that by playing chess "they learn to govern, place and displace, give and take with discretion to the glory and gain of their projects[5]."

The chess table preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Delhi Fort shows that the chess board was divided into 64 squares, eight on each of the four sides[6]. Each player had at his command a little army of 16 men, from the king down to a foot soldier. The game could be played both[7] two-handed and four-handed. Akbar was an expert in both. Sometimes international matches were held and bets offered. Jahangir's courtier Khan-i-Khanan was deputed to combat Shah Shafi of Persia. The game lasted for 3 days, but the poor ambassador

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1 John Marshall in India, p. 273 ; Della Valle, p. 405 ; Mandelslo, p. 66 ; De Laet, p. 405 ; Ovington, 267-68.

2 "They play chess 4 persons at a time with a pair of dice". Alberuni's India, Trans., Edward C. Sachu, Vol. I, p. 183.

3 Mandelslo, p. 66.

4 History of India, Lane Poole, Vol. IV, p. 37.

5 Storia, II, p. 460. For reference see Badaoni, II, 25 and 314 ; Tr. II, 18 and 324. Also Badaoni, III, 298 and 339 ; Tr. III, 408 and 467 ; Masair, I, 811-12.

6 For picture see "Indian Information", Oct., 1946.

7 Ain., I, p. 320.

lost it and had to carry out the bet that the "loser should bray like an ass[1]."

Chaupar

The antiquity of *chaupar* is undisputed. It continued to be in vogue in India throughout the Mughal period[2]. In the 17th century, *chaupar* became the favourite game of the court. Zeb-un-Nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, spent most of her spare time in playing *chaupar* with her girl friends[3]. Sometimes as many as 200 Mughal nobles used to take part in the play[4]. A match, it appears, used to be of 16 games. The game, at times, lasted for 3 months.

Betting was usual. Any player might depute a substitute who was entitled to 2% for all winnings and had to share 1% if he lost a bet[5]. It appears, however, that the Mughals were not familiar[6] with the game as it existed in India till the time of Akbar, who framed special rules and regulations and made it popular[7].

The description of the game in the Ain-i-Akbari leaves us in little doubt that no ready-made tables for the game were available in those days[8]. The people themselves used to draw on the floor or on some paper two parallel lines of equal length, with two others bisecting them at right angles, forming a little square at the centre and four rectangles,

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1 Storia, II, pp. 460-61.

2 A.S.B. (1893), Pt. I, Ain., III (Sarkar) p. 328. Early Travels in India, pp. 312-13 ; Macauliffe, I, 162.

3 Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p. 82.

4 Ain., I, p. 316.

5 *Ibid.*

6 No reference to the game in contemporary Persian records of Babar and Humayun is available.

7 A. N., II, 368 ; Tr. II. 534.

8 See description, Ain, I, p. 315, which confirms the fact.

each divided into four equal spaces of 3 rows on its (four) adjoining sides. The game was usually played by four players, two contending against the other two. But it could also be played by two persons only. Each player had at his command four pieces of the same shape, but different in colour from those of his companions. Three dice were used with dots marked from one to six. To begin with, each player was required to place two of his pieces in the 6th and 7th places of the same middle row, while the 7th and 8th spaces of the right row were occupied by the other two pieces. The left row was left empty. Each moved his pieces according to his throw till he arrived at the row to the left of the place of his start. He would then move to the empty space in the middle when he threw the exact number required to carry each of his pieces to the empty square. He was now *rasida* or arrived. If any of the four players had brought his four pieces into the empty square, even then he continued to throw for his companion in his turn "to get him out too[1]."

Chandal Mandal

Chandal Mandal was a modified *chaupar* so designed as to increase the number of players to 16 with 64 pieces divided equally among them. The pieces were moved as in *chaupar*. The game could be played in 12 different ways.

It consisted of 16 parallelograms, each divided into 24 equal fields, each having 3 rows and 3 spaces. These parallelograms were arranged in a circular form around a centre. Betting was allowed. The first player who was out received the "stipulated amount from the other 15, the second from the other 14 and so on[2]."

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1 Ain., I, p. 316. For a reference to another game called *Selah* see Ain, III, (Sarkar), p. 328.

2 Ain., I, pp. 316-18.

Nard

Nard or *Backgammon* has been mentioned as a game introduced into Hindustan by the Muslims. It was played with 30 pieces in two sets of 15, each set having its distinct colour on a square wooden board divided into 24 squares of equal sizes[1].

Pachisi

Pachisi was another ancient Hindu game enjoyed frequently by Akbar. The boards of this game were marked out on a marble square in a quadrangle, in the Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar is said to have used slave girls as pieces to play this game with[2].

The games of *Gutis*[3] were popular with the rural as well as the urban population. *Do guti*, *tre guti*, *nao guti* and *bara guti* were the names assigned to its different types. Two pieces were used in *do guti* and placed alternately on any one of the cross points until the movements of the adversary were checkmated. *Tre guti* was played with 3 pieces and 9 pieces were employed in *naoguti*. The Madhya Pradesh game of *gutis* resembles closely the *bara guti*[4] of the Punjab. Of the 23 cross points 22 are filled with ballets of 2 different kinds, each player having eleven, leaving the central point vacant. The usual

1 Khwandamir, pp. 155-56. Persians call it *Takht-i-Nadir Shah*. For the game see Burton Sindh, 292. According to Ferishta (1, 150) it was invented by Buzruj Mihr, minister of Persian king Nushirwan. Herklots' Islam in India, p. 333.

2 The game is also represented in a painting in the caves of Ajanta. Agra Historical and Descriptive by Syed Muhammed Latif, pp. 86, 142.

3 These games in stone exist even now in the palaces at Agra Fort, Fatehpur Sikri, and Chittor. They have been described here on the basis of the above, and tally with the account given by Mr. Dasgupta in his articles on "A few types of Indian Sedentary Games" in Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal and Calcutta Review. A reference has therefore been made to it.

4 Calcutta Review, 1923, (Jan-March), pp. 510-13.

rule of jumping over, if there be a vacant place in the next, holds good in all these games.

Some light has been thrown on the sedentary games of India by H. C. Dasgupta[1] and Sunder Lal Hora[2]. The investigations of Mr. Jotinder Mohan Datta[3] and others confirm the view that these games were prevalent in India from very early times with slight variations in names and details in various parts of the country. In *tant-fant*[4], called *tin-guti pait pait* by Mr. Dasgupta, the game is played between two persons each having his three distinctive pieces on the three cross-points of his side of the square, moving one to the centre to begin with. The game is won when all the three pieces belonging to a player lie in a straight line horizontally, vertically, or obliquely anywhere excepting the starting line. In *lau kata kati*[5], 18 pieces are used, each player has 9 distinctive pieces on the nine cross-points of the triangle, and shifts a piece to the centre and then follows the usual rules of draughts with the exception that only one piece be captured at a time. He who captures all the pieces of his opponent wins the game.

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1 Dasgupta, Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal (N. S.), XX, p. 165, 167 (1924) ; XXII, pp. 212-13 (1926).

2 Journal & Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, XXIX, 1933, p. 5.

3 *Ibid.* No. 17 Article & J. R. A. S. B., IV, 1938, Art. No. 10. Also see Dr. Bhandarkar's article in Journ. Bombay Branch R. A. S., Vol, 17, Pt. 2, pp. 7-8.

4 Mr. B. Dasgupta has described this type of game from Vikrampore (Quart. Journ.) Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, xiv, pp. 242-43, (1314 B. S.) under the local name of *tin-guti pait pait.*

5 Humphries (Journ. Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, II, p. 123, 1906), refers to an identical game played at Bargarh in Uttar Pradesh. A similar game is played in Madhya Pradesh described by Mr. H. C. Gupta, Journ., Pro. Asiat. Soc. Bengal (1926), XXII, p. 212, though board is different and 22 ballets are needed.

In *"mughal pathan*[1]*"* either player has 16 distinctive pieces arranged in his half of the board leaving the central line vacant. The usual rules of capture by jumping over a piece to an empty point opposite in a straight line apply and two or more captures are permitted at a time. In some places a horizontal line is drawn in each triangle necessitating 19 pieces for each player.

Lam turki[2] is played with 9 pieces on a board of ten cross-points. The game consists of two stages, in the first the player has to get all his nine pieces on the board, then in the second by the usual method of jumping over the piece to a vacant place in a straight line, he has to capture all his opponent's pieces except one. The pieces can be placed on the board in any way except that when a certain piece is placed on a cross-point, it has not to be moved from its place. *Sat gol* which resembles the *khasia* game known as *mawkarkatya* and another game *kaooas* have also been described by Mr. Dasgupta[3].

Bhag chal[4]*, bhag chakar, chakrachal, bagh bandi, bagh batti* or *chhabis guti bhag chal* is a kind of tiger play. The game was very popular among boys in

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1 In the vernacular reference is made to the well-known wars between the Mughals and the Pathans in Bengal. The game described by Mr. B. Dasgupta (Quart. Journ. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, XIV, pp. 239-40, 1314 B. S.) under the title of *Sola guti mangal pata* in which reference is made to 16 pieces. Similar game is *ahtarah guti* of Uttar Pradesh described by Humphries (Journal Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, II, p. 121, 1906), *Atharajutiala teora* of Madhya Pradesh. The game is called *lam pursi* or *sipahi kat* in Teesta valley where each player has 18 distinctive men. (Pro. Asc. Soc. Bengal, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 103).

2 Humphries describes a similar game under the name *kowwa dand* in Uttar Pradesh, *kaooa* is another game described by Mr. Dasgupta. (J. A. S. B. N.S., XX, p. 167, 1924-25) as prevalent in Madhya Pradesh, uses the same figure but played differently. J. A. S. B. N.S., II, p. 126 (1908).

3 Pro. J. A. S. B., pp. 168-69, 1924.

4 Journal Proc. Asiatic Soc. Benga II, pp. 123-24, 145 (1906), XIII, p. 297 (1927).

Mughal days. The contest is between two players one of whom usually plays with 4 tigers and the other uses twenty goats. The four tigers are placed at the four points of the square and one by one the goats are brought on the board. As soon as the first goat appears on the board, one of the tigers rushes to capture it which is only possible when the goat is between the tiger and a vacant point in a straight line. No goat, according to the rules, is to be moved from its place on the board till all the twenty goats have been placed on the board one by one. Then the pieces move forward and backward on adjacent vacant places. The effort of the player in possession of the goats is to checkmate the movements of the tigers. The play is finished when either all the goats are annihilated or tigers checkmated[1].

Golekuish[2], another game, consists of 7 concentric circles divided by 3 diameters thus having 42 points in which the diameters meet the circles. Two players play the game, one has a large number of goats and the other plays with only one tiger. The rest of the rules are similar.

Bheri bakri (sheep and goat) which is an interesting game deserves mention. The game was played between two players, each having 8 pieces (black for sheep and white for goats) arranged in his 8 compartments. The four pieces of *cowries* regulate the movements of the pieces. A player can only move his pieces from his original home if he gets a *poa* to his credit and then advances it according to the numbers gained by the throw of the *cowries*. If, according to the numbers shown by the *cowries*, one player's piece is to be moved to a place in possession of his adversary, the latter's piece is captured. Some

1 In *chakrachal* the movements of the pieces in all directions backwards, forwards and sideways but always in a straight line are indicated.

2 Dasgupta (N. S.) Proc. A. S. B., XX, pp. 166-67, 1924-25.

of the rules are : one player can play with one piece only at a time unless it is captured. For all points of one *poa*, it is usual for the player to move the pieces from the original compartments. The pieces are moved from right to left in the neutral row and left to right in that of his adversary. The player who captures all the pieces is the winner[1].

Chaugan

Chaugan, called polo today, was an all absorbing recreation for the Mughal kings[2] and nobles. Ladies of the royal household also sometimes took part in the game[3]. Commoners could be spectators only and not participants[4]. It appears that certain internal and external troubles during the reigns of Babar and Humayun brought about its temporary suspension. Akbar later on revived it[5]. Of all the games he liked it most, and Abul Fazl writes, "the occupation of *chaugan* acquired a predominance over other forms of pleasure and the emperor spent most of his time in it[6]." He invented fiery balls (illuminated balls)—a device which made the playing of the game on dark nights possible[7]. All the Mughal emperors showed keen interest in the game and *chaugan* playing fields were marked out and reserved at several places. The most famous of them all were at Fatehpur Sikri and Agra[8]. Two players of outstanding distinction Mir Sharif and Mir Ghiasuddin made a name for themselves during Akbar's reign[9].

1 Pro. Journ, A. S. B., N. S., XIX, pp. 71-74, 1924.
2 Badaoni, II, 70 ; Tr. II. 69.
3 Quoted in Humayun Badshah by S. K. Banerji.
4 A. N., III, 173 ; Tr. III, 242.
5 A. N., I, 219 ; Tr. I, 443-44, "The game of *Chaugan* and wolf-running for which Tabriz was famous, stopped due to riots, was revived again." A. N., I, 219 ; Tr. I, 443.
6 T. A., II, p, 315,
7 *Ibid*.
8 Ain, II, p, 180,
9 Abul Fazl (A.N., II, 151 ; Tr. II, 233) mentions the playground just outside the fort of Agra ; Badaoni (II, 70 ; Tr. II, p, 69) refers to Ghrawali near Agra where Akbar used to play polo. For Fatehpur see Ain, II, p. 180,

It was the usual practice that not more than ten players, five on each side should take part in the game at a time. But many more were kept on the waiting list, two of whom replaced another two in the field after every twenty minutes. The game was played on horseback, each player holding a *chaugan* stick in his hand with a crooked end. The ball was taken hold of by that end and was either slowly taken to the circle by the players or was forcibly hit, the horseman galloping after it to pass it between the posts which was "equivalent to a goal[1]." The other party would oppose the man hitting the ball and then the two parties "struggled together and there was wrestling between them. It was indeed a wonderful spectacle[2]."

The game of hockey, too, has been referred to and the late Sir Denison Ross has a painting of the reign of Jahangir which shows a game of hockey in progress with pole sticks, while the emperor is watching it[3].

Wrestling

Wrestling or *kushti* was considered to be not merely a pastime in Mughal times, but a real necessity for the daily exercise of the limbs and the body. It was pursued by the king, nobles and commoners alike.

There was a certain set of rules to be observed by the participants at a wrestling contest and those who broke them were not only debarred from future matches but also, sometimes, given exemplary punishment. Many wrestling matches took place under the royal patronage, and the Mughal kings and princes

1 Ain, I, pp. 309-10, T. A., II, p. 315,

2 T.A., II, p. 315.

3 Journal of the Department of Letters, 1925.

from Babar downwards took delight in seeing them and heartening the contestants by their presence. The winners were profusely rewarded[1].

Boxing

Boxing, too, was a favourite pastime during the Mughal age. According to De Laet, "they enjoy looking at boxing matches and at conjuring[2]". Akbar was specially fond of this sport[3]. He kept a large number of Persian and *Turani* boxers at the court. Manucci also refers to this game[4]. Stone-throwers were also encouraged and kept on regular monthly remuneration[5].

Races

Horse racing[6] was a source of entertainment prevalent among the high class Mughal nobles who took part in the game and "rode their fiery steeds".

Dog racing[7] was also not unknown and the Emperor Akbar took great delight in it[8].

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1 B. N., 656, 660, 683 ; A. N., I, 226 and 248 ; Tr. I, 456 and 487 ; A. N., III, 329 ; Tr. III, 482. Also see Ain., I, p. 263. For Jahangir's interest in wrestling, see R. and B. I, p. 335 ; for Shahjahan, Storia, I, p, 191.

2 De Laet, p. 82.

3 Monserrate, p. 198.

4 Storia, I, p. 191.

5 Ain., I, p. 263.

6 Badaoni, II, 70 ; Tr. II, 69. Deccanis (Maharattas) were famous for their horsemanship (Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 92 ; Nicholas Downton in Purchas, IV, p. 225). Rajputs and Gujaratis have also been praised for their skill in horse-riding. (Padumavat (Hindi), 285 and Barbosa, I, 109).

7 Badaoni, II, p. 70 ; Tr. II, 69.

8 *Ibid*, 84 ; Tr. II, 84.

Martial Sports

Martial sports had a special fascination for the people. Archery[1] and swordsmanship[2] were the order of the day. Every young man with ambition was expected to be good at the bow and sword. Matches and contests were held, and rewards offered.

Hunting

Hunting[3] was one of the best means of amusement and recreation during the Mughal times and was indulged in by the king, nobles and the commoners[4]. The costly and dangerous expeditions were the privilege of the chosen few and the quarry consisted of elephants, lions, tigers, buffaloes and wild goats. Being Muhammadans, the Mughal monarchs refrained from hunting boars[5]. Jahangir had made it a custom to hunt male tigers only[6]. Lion hunting was exclusively reserved for the king[7]. Elephant hunting, too, could not be indulged in without the special permission of the king. Permis-

1 "It was ordered on Monday that a party of young nobles and the army should practise archery." Intkhab-i-Jahangiri, E. & D., VI, pp. 449-50. His Majesty shot at *qabag*, "the arrow struck the bigature of the golden ball which experienced marksmen had failed to hit." A.N., I, 335; Tr. I, 613. Humayun practised archery *vide* Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat—Stewart, p. 69. Humayun-Nama-Khwandamir. p. 149; and for Akbar's interest in archery, Ain., I, p. 262.

2 See Ain., I., pp. 262-63; Bernier, p. 263 (1891).

3 For rules and regulations for hunting expeditions see H. N. Gul, p. 197; Ain., I, (1873), pp. 64-5, 116; A. N., II, 164; Tr., II, 253; A.N., III, 220; Tr., III, 309; R. and B., I, 184 and 384; E. & D., VI, p. 435; Hawkins in Early Travels, pp. 106, 108; Purchas, IV, 47; Tavernier, p. 125. For hunting grounds see Pelsaert's India, pp. 33-34 and R. & B., I, p. 137.

4 For a beautiful painting of *Shikar* by Night see plate XXIII (Persian 1569) in Influence of Islam on Indian culture. Another painting of Royal hunting may be seen at Indian Art Exhibition. Painting not numbered but is of Bikaner Palace collection.

5 Tavernier, p. 125; Storia, IV, p. 255.

6 R. & B., I, p. 286.

7 Bernier, p. 218. Painting No. 609, I.A.E. Mughal period: "The Emperor Jahangir hunting lion on an elephant."

sion was granted sparingly and usually to professional hunters only[1]. All sorts of beasts such as dogs, deer, elephants, etc., were especially trained for hunting purposes. According to Hawkins, the king used to keep 3,000 deer, 400 ounces, and 4,000 hawks, for hunting[2]. Dogs were in great demand and Jahangir imported those of excellent breed from England[3] and Kabul.

Akbar invented a special kind of hunting called the *Qamargha*[4] hunt which became very popular with the Mughal kings[5]. Every successive emperor took a lively interest in it and associated nobles as well as the people in this sport[6]. A special site where wild animals of various kinds could be found in abundance was selected for this great hunt. Sometimes the hunt was arranged exclusively for only one kind of game, like Jahangir's red deer hunt in Kabul[7]. The animals were driven ordinarily from an area of 40 *kos* in every direction[8], by a large number of beaters, sometimes as many as 50,000[9], and the ring was contracted gradually till it became so narrow as to

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1 See T.A., II, p. 349 for tiger hunting.

2 Hawkins in Early Travels in India, p. 104. For the maintenance of his animals, Daud Khan, a noble, used to spend two hundred and fifty thousand rupees every year. Storia, IV. p. 255.

3 Roe's Embassy, p. 182.

4 *Qamargha* is a Turkish word denoting a great battle in which a large number of wild animals are driven into an enclosure and killed. Mr. Phillott describes it in Ain-i-Akbari as a "chase for which drivers are employed." The game is apparently enclosed in a living ring. Ain, I, (1873), p. 282.

5 *Qamargha* being a Turkish game, it must have been in vogue during the reigns of Babar and Humayun, but no documentary evidence is traceable.

6 Badaoni, II, 94; Tr., II. 93-94.

7 R. & B., I, p. 120. For *Qamargha* hunting expeditions see Badaoni, II, 93; Tr., II, 93-94; Tuzuk-Lowe, pp. 69-70; M.A. (Urdu), p. 26.

8 T.A., II, p. 315. Jahangir's courtier Ilavardhi Khan invented a special net called *Bawar* (rope) for this hunt. For details refer to Maasir I, 668.

9 Tarikh-i-Alfi, p. 627 quoted in Tabqat-i-Akbari trans. B. De. Vol. II, p. 328 f.n.

enable the king to go alone mounted on a horse[1] and accompanied by one or two attendants—"to kill them with various weapons." Subsequently the nobles and after them the people[2] were permitted to take part in this chase. Ultimately the whole party would "give rein to their horses. The sport used to last for a week or more[3].

Elephant catching, an ancient game, was enjoyed by the people from a very early time[4]. It was, like tiger hunting[5], an exclusive royal game during Mughal times. But special permission was granted to professional hunters[6].

Four methods of elephant catching[7] and of tiger hunting[8] have been described in the Ain, which may be read by the curious reader in the English translation of that book. The methods of hunting of various other animals like leopards, asses[9], antelopes[10], *cheetas*[11], water-fowls[12], *shargoshes*[13], buffaloes[14], deer[15], roe bucks and does[16] are described in

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1 T.A., Vol. II, p. 328.

2 *Ibid.*

3 I. N. Jahangiri (Urdu), p. 41.

4 Ain, I, p. 295.

5 Pelsaert's India, p. 52 ; T.A., II, p. 349.

6 A New History of East Indies, I, pp. 60-61.

7, Ain, I, pp. 284-85, 296; Storia, III, pp. 76-77 ; Thevenot, Chap. XXIV, Pt. III, pp. 45-46.

8 Ain, I, p. 293. Also see Storia, I, pp. 192-94.

9 T. A., II, p. 363 ; A.N., II, 359-60 ; Tr., II, 522.

10 Thevenot Chap. XXI, p. 38 ; Petermundy, II, p. 112 ; Bernier, p. 218 ; Ovington, p. 271 ; R. & B., I, p. 129.

11 A.N., II, 121 ; Tr., II, 186 ; *Ibid*, II, 156 ; Tr., II, 242.

12 Ain, I, pp. 307-8. For Jahangir's skill in shooting birds see Tuzuk-Lowe, pp. 36-7.

13 Storia, III, p. 90.

14 Ain, I, p. 304.

15 B.N., pp. 491-92 ; Storia, III, p. 85.

16 A new History of East Indies, I, p. 86.

detail in various records of the period. An interesting method of catching sparrows has been described by Baizid Biyat in his work *Mukhtasar*[1].

Shooting of birds[2] was a common hobby and a source of entertainment for the rich and the poor. The former sometimes used guns, but bows and arrows were most commonly employed. According to Terry, their bows were usually made of buffaloes' horns, glued together, and the arrows were of light reeds[3] (little canes) "excellently headed and feathered[4]." They were skilled archers and would even kill flying birds[5]. Hawking, too, was common and trained hawks would "strike the wild fowl in mid air" and bring the prey down[6]. *Baz*, *shahin*, *shungar* and *burkat*, falcons, etc. were trained and made use of in the hunting of birds, such as, doves, pigeons, etc.[7]

Fishing

Fishing was much in vogue in India during the Mughals period both as a recreation and as a profession. The use of nets for catching fish was not totally unknown[8], but professional hunters did not have recourse to it. A special type of net called "*safra*" (or "*bhanwar jal*" in Hindi) was used[9].

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1 J.I.H., Vol. IV, 1925, p. 49.

2 Ain, I, p. 304 ; Thevenot, Pt. III, p. 38.

3 De Laet, p. 82.

4 Early Travels in India, p. 312.

5 *Ibid* ; De Laet, p. 82 ; Godino in J.R.A.S.B., IV, 1938, p. 541.

6 Ain, II, p. 351.

7 Early Travels, p. 104 ; Tuzuk, pp. 36-7.

8 There is a reference to the use of nets in fishing by Jahangir in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri "I went for fishing in boats. Two hundred and eight large fish came into one net, half of them species of *rahu*". R. & B., I, p. 342.

9 Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, E. and D., VI, p. 311.

Of all the Mughal emperors[1], Jahangir enjoyed this sport most. On one occasion he caught 766 fish[2]. He was specially enamoured of *rahu*, "which is the best of all the fishes found in India." But the real amusement of all the Mughal emperors consisted in "stocking the canals with tame fish."

Boating

Boats were, no doubt, used mostly as a means of transport for crossing rivers, but sometimes nobles did refresh themselves by boating on rivers and lakes[3]. Pleasure boats called *"more pankh"* or *bajra* were constructed for this purpose for the nobles[4]. They were extraordinarily low, slender and long with 20 to 30 beautifully painted oars on either side[5]. The noble took his seat either in front or in the middle on an elaborately constructed platform with a covering overhead as a protection against sun and rain. When rich men[6] moved out with their families they used great lighters (boats) with houses for the women folk in the middle.

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1 For reference to fishing see B. N., p. 406 ; Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat-Stewart, p. 109. Ain is silent about this amusement, but Akbar did enjoy it. See A. N. II, 76 ; Tr. II, 117 ; Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 188. For a description of the method of catching fish in those days see I. N. Jahangiri (Urdu), pp. 115-16 and Manrique, II, p. 232.

2 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 188.

3 A. N., II, 76 ; Tr., II, 117 ; Ain, II, p. 112 ; John Marshall in India, p. 170 ; Godino in J. R. A. S. B., IV, letters p. 551.

4 Petermundy, II, p. 158. Painting No. 513 I. A. E., early 18th century shows a prince boating with his beloved and hunting black buck. Note the fine wooden boat and the oars.

5 Petermundy, II, p. 158. For contemporary boats and *shikaras* see a beautiful painting "Jahangir crossing a lake". Plate XIV of 'The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls' by Lawrence Binyon.

6 For boating excursions of kings see B. N., 387, 406 ; Khawandamir, pp. 135-37 ; R. and B., II, p. 151.

Riding

Horse-riding[1] was a common sight, a means of transport, a recreation for the rich who sometimes also enjoyed elephant riding, a common and favourite pastime of the Mughal kings[2]. Princesses also used to enjoy horse riding. Akbar would sometimes ride a camel[3].

Animal fights

Getting animals to fight was one of the popular amusements and recreations of the age. The people had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats, rams, cocks, quads, stags[4], antelopes, dogs and bulls[5] to entertain their friends with[6]. Young boys favoured fight among *bulbuls* and sometimes quails which "make some sport[7]". The king and the nobles amused themselves with costly and dangerous combats between elephants[8], tigers, deer, *cheetas*, boars[9], leopards, bulls and other wild beasts[10]. The hazardous fight between a tiger and a bull has also been referred to in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri[11]. Camel fights[12] were an extraordinary sport for which camels were imported from Ajmer, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Gujarat[13], etc.

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1 For horse riding see Early Travels, p. 312. Della Valle, p. 405; Ain, II, p. 122. For a painting see photo facing p. 15 of the Lady of the Lotus Rupmati, Queen of Mandu by Ahmad-ul-Umri trans. L. M. Crump.
2 For elephant riding see A. N., II, 151; Tr., II, 234; A. N., III, 92; Tr. III. 129; Storia, I, p. 133.
3 A. N., II, 71-2; Tr. II, III
4 Thevenot Chap. XXI, p. 38
5 Badaoni, II, 392; Tr. II, 406.
6 B. N., 259.
7 Petermundy, II, p. 128.
8 Even in Babarnama camel and elephant fights have been mentioned at Agra. B. N., 631.
9 Badaoni, II, p. 392; Tr., II, 406.
10 Mandelslo, p. 43.
11 R. & B. I, p. 157. A beautiful painting No. 640, I. A. E. 17th century shows "Jahangir witnessing a deadly fight between a snake and a spider." This incident actually occurred on the emperor's journey from Kashmir, A. D. 1607.
12 For a painting of a camel fight see painting No. 605, I. A. E.
13 Ain, I (1873), p. 143.

The Mughal kings also took delight in seeing men without arms engaged with beasts at their own free will[1]. The volunteers, if successful, had a chance to make their life's fortunes. Those brave men who firmly stood their ground were enlisted among the *mansabdars*[2]. Convicts condemned to death were sometimes given the option to fight a hungry lion or elephant, specially kept for the purpose. They were supplied with a dagger and, if victorious, their lives were usually spared[3].

Betting on animal fights was allowed and the people often indulged in it. The stakes on royal deer combats were fixed for *mansabdars* from Rs. 2/- to eight *muhurs*, according to the status of the opponents, the deer-keeper, and the classes of the deer engaged.

The harmless and cheap fights between goats, rams, cocks etc. were enjoyed by the common people in an open compound in front of their houses. Cock fighting was very common among the higher middle class. Varthema witnessed a five-hour continuous fight at Tenasserim "so that at the end both remained dead[5]." Spacious grounds were reserved in important cities, like Agra, Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri, etc., for the amusement of the urban population[6].

A special amphitheatre[7] was prepared under the command of Akbar for animal fighting which was quite visible from the balcony of the royal palace over the Darshani Gate in Agra Fort. The king used to witness and enjoy the animal

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1 Mandelslo, p. 43.

2 Intikhab-i-Jahángir Shahi E. & D., VI, 449-50.

3 Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, E. & D., VI, 347. Della Valle, pp. 450-51.

4 Ain, I, (1873), pp. 218-20.

5 Varthema, p. 75.

6 Petermundy, II, p. 50.

7 Ranking's Historical Researches, p. 284.

fights through the "golden windows" of the gallery of his fort palace[1].

Akbar took personal interest in elephant fights and many a time "did apply himself to this sport and even engaged his royal elephants *Fauha* and *Lauga* in a tough encounter[2]." The fighting elephants would meet each other face to face on opposite sides of a wall, about four feet wide and six feet in height. The wall would give way after some spirited attacks and then there followed a fierce fight between the beasts under the direction of their *mahavats*[3].

Ishq bazi or pigeon flying was primarily a sport of the common folk. Mukundram's reference to it corroborates the view[4]. Nobles, too, enjoyed it and brought excellent pigeons from foreign countries, like Turan and Iran, to be trained for the game[5]. Akbar was very fond of it[6]. He studied the details of pigeon flying and used to "scatter grain to allure the birds[7]."

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1 De Laet, pp. 39-40; Hawkins in Early Travels, p. 184; for Delhi and Burhanpur. Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XXII, p. 42 and Petermundy, II, p. 50 respectively.

2 A.N., II, 60; Tr., II, 91; Nizamuddin (T.A., II, p. 223 f.n. 2nd and p. 224) mentions fights between the royal elephants which he names as '*Fatuha*' and '*Baksha*'. Refer to Maasir, I, p. 183 for a fight between Jahangir's elephant Giranbar and Khusrau's elephant Aprup. For a favourite elephant of Jahangir see painting No. 623, I.A.E., Mughal, 17th century. For the days usually reserved for animal fights refer to Early Travels, pp. 108, 184; Roe's Embassy, p. 107; Petermundy, II, p. 127; Manrique, II, p. 162; Mandelslo, p. 43.

3 Bernier, p. 277; Early Travels, p. 301; Petermundy, II, p. 127. For a picture see Storia, I, p. 208; and Bernier, p. 276. Also see Ranking's Historical Researches, p. 284.

4 Bengal in the 16th century, pp. 185-86.

5 Ain, I, p. 310.

6 Ghani, III, p. 7.

7 A.N., I, 318; Tr., I, p. 589.

Magic shows and acrobatics

Jugglers, mountebanks, dancers, conjurers and magicians were all a source of recreation to the Indian folk. They were spread over the length and breadth of the country and formed the chief source of enjoyment for the rural population.

The "clever jugglers and funny tumblers" thronged the open places and streets of Agra[1] to exhibit their dexterity and agility[2]. Dr. Fryer saw everywhere a crowd of jugglers accompanying a group of *yogis*[3]. All such merry-makers, according to Bernier, gathered in large numbers near the great royal square in Delhi[4] and showed their wonderful tricks. Thevenot[5], Terry[6] and John Marshall[7] have described some remarkable feats of these *bazigars*.

The rope dancers called *nats* entertained the audience with their "wonderful acrobatic feats[8]." Some of them would train a monkey or two who showed some pleasing performances at the instance of their master[9]. Babar also refers to these ape tricks. A juggler from Bengal brought an ape which performed wonderful tricks in front of Jahangir. The Emperor took a ring from his finger and gave it to one of the boys to conceal. The ape at once spotted the boy "that had it[10]."

1 Pelsaert's India, p. 72.

2 Ain, I, (1873), p. 157.

3 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 443.

4 Bernier, p. 243.

5 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XLV, pp. 77-8.

6 Early Travels, pp. 312-13 ; Terry, p. 190.

7 John Marshall in India, p. 354. For feats of these jugglers see Petermundy, II, p. 254 ; Ovington, pp. 258-9 ; and Ain, III, (Sarkar), p. 132, also f. n. 3 ; Badaoni, II, 367-68 ; Tr., II, 378-79.

8 Ain, III, p. 258.

9 Early Travels, pp. 312-13 ; De Laet, p. 82 ; B.N., p. 492.

10 Della Valle, p. 460.

Dancing snakes[1], usually deprived of their teeth and kept in baskets three or four in each, were taken round the streets by their masters to amuse the ladies and the children who gathered to see the snakes dance at the sound of the flute.

Dancing

Dancing served as a pastime for the rich. It was usual to call for dancing girls on festive occasions[2]. They would play, sing and dance and entertain the guests[3]. Female dancers and public women were available in big cities at reasonable rates[4]. The *patar*[5] and rope dancing[6] were very popular. *Akhara* was a special type of dance enjoyed by nobles[7]. Aurangzeb did away with this luxury. He ordered public women and dancing girls either to marry or to "clear out of his realm[8]."

Music

Music, called the "*talisman* of knowledge" by Abul Fazl[9], formed one of the most favourite pastimes[10]. Rural as well as urban people enjoyed it[11]. A few sweet stanzas from a holy book would lessen the hard task of the labourer at work[12]. While

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1 Ovington, p. 261 ; Early Travels, pp. 312-13 ; Della Valle, p. 405 ; De Laet, p. 82 ; Pedro Teixeria, pp. 224-25.

2 For a *natuch* in celebration of Akbar's birthday see photo facing p. 160 of Humayun Nama.

3 Petermundy, II, p. 216. Trade in India by Charles Lockter, p. 234. For a photo of dancers see Petermundy, II, p. 217.

4 Storia, II, p. 9. For good dancers of Multan see Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XXXII, p. 55 ; of Masulipatam, see Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 182.

5 Ain, III, p. 258.

6 Badaoni, II, 95 ; Tr., II, 97.

7 See for details Ain, III, p. 258.

8 Storia, II, p. 9.

9 Ain, I, (1873), p. 611.

10 Mandelslo, p. 310. "They delight much in music."

11 De Laet, p. 82.

12 Ovington, pp. 291-92.

laying bricks, repairing old shoes or making new ones, or engaged in other manual work, a group of labourers would repeat the "sacred ballads sometimes alternately, sometimes by single persons, the rest answering in chorus."

A delightful and sweet-sounding rhythmical melody sung in chorus by the seamen busy with their oars would "keep up their spirits[1]". Young women of the countryside with pitchers on their heads would go to a well in the village early in the morning to fetch water. All the way to the well and back, they would sing in chorus, sometimes in batches of 20 or 30[2]. The rich and the nobles were good at music both instrumental and vocal[3]. All the Mughal kings, with the solitary exception of Aurangzeb[4], were great patrons of music. Babar himself excelled in music and composed songs. Akbar's reign produced Tan Sen[5] of immortal fame, besides Ram Das and many other front rank musicians[6]. Jahangir[7] and Shahjahan's[8] reigns were remarkable for the progress of vocal and instrumental music.

Theatrical performance

People had various other means of amusements also, such as theatrical performances. They were no doubt crude in character[9]. Smooth-faced boys were dressed up as women to take part in the

1 Ovington, pp. 291-92.

2 Purchas' India, p. 12.

3 For Baz Bahadur see A.N., II, 136 ; Tr., II, 211. For Ghani Beg of Sind, see A.N., III, 260 ; Tr., III, 378 ; Maasir, I, 806.

4 Mirat-i-Alam, E. & D., VII, p. 158 ; M.A. (trans. Urdu), p. 384.

5 Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 174.

6 Ain, I, (1873), pp. 611-12.

7 R. & B., I, p. 331.

8 Mandelslo, p. 23.

9 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 187.

drama[1]. It was usual to give dramatic representation to some scenes from the Mahabharata depicting the sterling qualities of Lord Krishna[2]. *Rama-Lila* or theatrical representation of scenes from the holy Ramayana were common during the annual Hindu festival of Dasehra[3]. Love of the theatre was profound among the Mughal family. The theatre dance, and music had their prescribed hours. Some actors from Gujarat performed a piece before Shahjhan showing the maladministration in that kingdom[4].

Jashans[5] were celebrated with great pomp and show, befitting such an occasion. After the dancing and music came wine, which was served by beautiful maidens as the climax of the entertainment.

Poetic recitations were frequently arranged. Renowned poets were called for and guests were invited[6]. It served both as an education and recreation for the guests and the spectators.

Story-telling

Educated men and women, of whom there were many, would sometimes relax themselves by reading light literature, short stories, novels, poetry, etc. *Gulistan*, *Bostan* and *Diwans* of various Persian poets were the favourites with those well-versed in Persian[7], while stories from the *Ramayana*, and the *Mahabharata* were studied by others both as a

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1 Ain, III, p. 257.

2 Macauliffe, I, p. 57.

3 About ten days before this great festival which marks the victory of Sri Rama over Ravana, the whole history of Sri Rama's adventures is shown.

4 Storia, I, pp. 198-99.

5 B.N., 330b., G-28-29 ; A.A.-II-309, quoted in Ashraf's Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan.

6 H.N.—G., pp. 113, 124. Also see Qanun-i-Humayun, p. 28 ; Ain, I, p. 276 ; R. & B., I, p. 121.

7 Storia, II, p. 331.

recreation and as a religious instruction. It was usual to listen to stories of adventures, heroes and lovers before going to bed at night. Short stories were related to children by their mothers to allure them to early sleep.

It was common practice, especially among the rural folk, to pass their idle hours in solving riddles put to them by their friends. Mirza Haider was a famous riddle writer in Akbar's reign[1].

Witty persons[2] amused others with their humour. The kings also used to keep a jester at the court. The title of *Amir-uz-Zurfa* was granted to Maulana Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad by Humayun[3]. Jalal Khan was a "complete master of mirth and wit[4]" during Akbar's reign. Bir Bal was another outstanding figure remembered even now for his witty remarks.

Gardening

Gardening was a hobby with kings and nobles[5]. Babar laid out symmetrical gardens and fitted them with fountains[6]. Akbar's beautiful gardens around Fatehabad are still remembered[7]. Jahangir and Shahjahan, too, planted many gardens and used to refresh themselves by occasional visits[8]. The people, particularly Kashmiris, took pleasure in skiffs upon the lakes[9].

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1 H.N. (Bev) Introduction, p. 7.

2 The inhabitants of Bilgram were reputed for their quick wit and humour ; Ain, II, p. 173.

3 Qanun-i-Humayun, p. 42.

4 Badaoni, II, 186 ; Tr. II, 189.

5 Early Travels in India, p. 303.

6 Ain, I (1873), p. 87 ; Badaoni, II, 385 ; Tr., II, 339.

7 A.N., II. 365 ; Tr., II, 531.

8 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 89.

9 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XXII, p. 42 ; Ain, II, p. 351 ; Monserrate, p. 31 says "King descends to the lake (in Fatehpur Palace) on holidays and refreshes himself with its many beauties."

Fairs

"The visits to periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage were," writes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "the sole joy of the Indian village population and men and women were passionately eager to undertake them[1]." Mathura, Allahabad, Banaras, Nasik, and Madura were the main religious centres of the Hindus, while Ajmer, Gulbarga, Nizamuddin Auliya and Burhanpore were the seats of Muslim pilgrimage.

Smoking

Smoking the *hukka* and chewing betels were innocent amusements of the countryfolk, particularly of the Muhammadans. Grose rightly observes, "Moors are much addicted to smoking" and frequently indulged in this luxury[2]. After their hard morning duties in the fields, Hindus, too, would sit cross-legged on their cots under some shady tree or in their homes and enjoy the hubble-bubble[3].

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1 History of Aurangzeb, V., pp. 471-73, Also Macauliffe, I, 144.

2 Grose, I, p. 146.

3 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 181.

CHAPTER IV

FESTIVALS AND FAIRS

Festivals

In medieval times a considerable portion of the year was set apart for public festivals. Hindu festivals exceed those of the Muslims in number and gorgeous celebration. *Shastras* suggest only a few, *Puranas* add a large number and tradition supplies the largest group. Most of the Hindu festivals are based on mythological, historical and astronomical considerations, while others, like *Vasant Panchami*, *Holi*, *Ganesh* and *Gaur*, etc., are observed owing to the alterations of the seasons. *Ramnaumi* and *Janmashtami* commemorate the birthday anniversaries of two of our greatest *avatars*. There was general uniformity in their observance, for the most part, throughout the country. But they enjoyed various degrees of popularity in different places and were celebrated with certain local modifications.

Muslim festivals, on the other hand, are few in number, but are celebrated with equal enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, they are the anniversaries of some of the most important events in the early history of Islam. The Mughals could not escape the reaction of Hindu culture. Under its dominating influence, coupled with a keen desire to bring the two communities nearer, they adopted some of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in their court calendar. Decorations, illuminations, fire-works, splendid processions, abundant display of gold, silver, pearls, diamonds and jewels by Muhammadans in India, unheard of in their native lands, were the natural consequences of their contact with Hindu culture.

With the advent of the Mughals, a new era dawned over the social and political horizon of India. They took keen interest in the feasts and festivals of the people. Humayun adopted the *tula-dan*, or the weighing ceremony of the Hindus. Akbar went further and associated *Holi*, *Dasehra* and *Vasant* with court celebrations. Jahangir and, to a certain extent, Shahjahan continued the noble tradition.

Aurangzeb followed a reverse course. He banned most of the Hindu and Persian festivals in the court, making it Islamic, as far as he could, in Hindu surroundings. Some of the important festivals, national as well as religious, have been dealt with in the following pages.

Nauroz

Nauroz[1], or the New Year's day, the greatest national festival during the Mughal times, was borrowed from the Persians[2]. It falls on the 1st *Farwardin*, the first month of the Persian year (20th or 21st of March) when the sun enters the sign Aries[3]. It marks the advent of the spring in India[4]. The Mughals extended the period of its celebrations to 19 days[5] (from the 1st *Farwardin* to 19th *Farwardin*) as against twelve in Iran. The first and the last days were considered most auspicious when

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1 Badaoni, (II, 172, 175-N, 268, 343) terms it as *Nauroz-i-Jalali-Jahangir*. Tuzuk-Lowe, (pp. 39-40) calls it *Roz-i-Sharaf*. For earlier references see Alberuni-Sachau, p. 2 ; B.N., p. 236 ; Qanun-i-Humayun, p. 69 ; Khwandamir, p. 95 ; see an article in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August 1940.

2 Its history and antiquity dates back to the days of Jamshid of "the seven-ringed cup" who is said to have fixed the Persian calendar. Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 110. Alberuni's Chronology of the Ancients, 199 ff.

3 Badaoni, II, 261-62 ; Tr., II, 269 ; T.A., II, p. 556 ; Ain, I, pp. 276-77.

4 Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 110.

5 Ain, I, (1873), pp. 276-77.

"much money and numerous things are given away as presents[1]."

Grand preparations for the festival were made months ahead[2] at the imperial cities[3]. Bazars, porticoes, the public and private audience halls, were profusely decorated with costly stuffs such as satin, velvet, clothes of gold[4], etc. Lofty pavilions were erected and incomparable paintings drawn. The common people whitewashed their entrances and decorated the doors of their houses with green branches[5]. A large number of people in their best clothes[6] flocked from their neighbouring cities and villages to the capital to "amuse themselves by the sight of this great festival" and indulged in merry-making for full eighteen days[7], visiting gardens, playing various games and attending parties[8]. Restrictions on gambling were relaxed for the duration of the festival[9] and the public was allowed free access to the presence of the king once a week during this period[10].

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1 Ain, I, (1873), p. 183.

2 For travellers' accounts of the celebration of this festival during Mughal days see Early Travels, p. 119 ; Monserrate, pp. 175-76 ; Roe's Embassy, pp. 142-44 ; Petermundy, II, pp. 237-38 ; Manrique, II, pp. 195-200; Mandelslo, p. 41 ; Storia, I, p. 195 ; Bernier, pp. 272-3 ; Thevenot, Pt. III, pp. 49-50. Also see Ain, I, (1873), pp. 276-77 ; A.N., III, 32, 200-01, 385-86, 436 ; R. and B., I, pp. 48-49.

3 Badaoni, II, 301 ; Tr., II, 310.

4 R. and B., I, pp. 78, 130, 199, 230, 254, 294 ; T.A., II, p. 556.

5 Manrique, II, p. 193.

6 Monserrate, pp. 175-76 ; T.A., II, 556.

7 Tuzuk-Lowe, pp. 39-40. According to Monserrate it lasted for nine days.

8 Monserrate, pp. 175-76.

9 Badaoni, II, 338 ; Tr., II, 348-49. According to Thevenot, "They are so eager at it in Delhi and Benares that there is a vast deal of money lost then and many people ruined." Thevenot, Chap. XXVI, p. 48.

10 T.A., II, p. 556.

The king and his court celebrated the greatest national festival[1] in a right royal manner. Special kinds of coins called *"Nisars"* were struck by Mughal Emperors from Jahangir onwards for distribution among the people or for offering tribute to the king on the occasion of certain festivities such as New Year's day, or the anniversary of their coronations[2]. During these 19 days "wine flowed in rivulets, verse and ode flew in hundreds, gaiety and merriment ruled everything." Singers and musicians flocked to the court from all quarters, particularly from Persia[3]. *Nautch* girls with their wonderful and attractive performances thrilled the hearts of all those present[4].

Several European travellers[5] have given a picturesque description of the lavish display of wealth and magnificence on this occasion. Manrique, perhaps copying from somewhere or depending on hearsay, gives a detailed account of the ornamentation of the Imperial palace at Agra. The first courtyard, according to him, was "rendered gay by a large body of glittering cavalry numbering 4,000 horse, all dressed in coloured embroidered silk, while the horsemen wore brilliant silken robes, followed by 600 royal elephants with golden towers." Another hundred elephants dressed in "gay silver mounted coverings" and decorated with silken

1 Even in Dabistan this festival is mentioned by an angel who says "Maḥ Payah (a lunar sphere) is also one of the spheres of the Paradise in which are those who performed every kind of meritorious deeds except observing the Nauroz". Dabistan (1843) trans. James Ewing, p. 289.

2 These coins weigh 43 to 44 grains. Perhaps these coins were struck on economic grounds as they were intended for distribution. Compare Pro. A.S.B., 1883 (History of Mughal Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their coins).

3 East India Factory Records (1646-50), p. 299. For other references to Nauroz see E.F. (1624-29), p. 127 and E.F. (1651-54), pp. 244-45.

4 T.A., II, p. 559.

5 Manrique II, pp. 195-200 ; Early Travels, p. 119 ; Roe's Embassy, p. 144 ; Bernier, p. 270.

flowers and carrying silken and golden *howdahs* formed the second guard. The first hall was all covered with pictures and paintings of battles, riding parties, hunting scenes, etc. The bases of the four columns of the gallery in the next hall were decorated with hollow silver pedestals in which "different sweet perfumes were burnt[1]." The nobles would adorn their places with jewels, pearls, diamonds, their richest treasures and the greatest rarities so that, to quote Nizam-ud-Din, "the spectators on seeing them were filled with wonder and admiration[2]." Arrangements were also made where the ladies of the royal household could sit and see the celebrations in *purdah*.

The main function usually took place in the Diwan-i-Am which was "richly decorated with Gujarat and Persian gold cloth, brocaded velvet, brocades from Constantinople and China and European curtains and screens." The king's tent, about 50 paces long and 43 paces broad[3], was fixed there in the middle, having an area of about 2 acres around it[4]. This "curiously wrought[5]" tent "the like of which cannot be found in the world" was covered all over with *shamiyanas* of most delicately embroidered velvet, silk and cloth of gold. Pearls, jewels, diamonds, hollow fruits of gold, such as pears and apples, pictures set in silver frames and paintings were hung over fringes. The floor was spread over with most magnificent carpets of the richest silk. Bernier saw the pillars of such a tent overlaid with silver, "which were as thick and as high as the mast of a barque." The outside of such a tent was usually red and the inside was lined with

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1 Manrique, II, pp. 195-200.

2 T.A., II, 556 ; Bernier, p. 270.

3 Roe's Embassy, p. 144. Also see Lahori, I, A 186-87 ; 191-93 ; I-B, pp. 77-79 ; 82-84.

4 Early Travels, p. 119.

5 *Ibid.*

"elegant flowery Masulipatam chintizes." A jewelled and golden throne[1] (and from the time of Shahjahan the famous peacock throne[2]) adorned this royal tent.

The rest of this vast area around the royal tent was covered all over with the tents of nobles who rivalled each other in displaying their wealth, pomp and splendour[3]. Sometimes the galleries around the court, walls or pillars of the halls of the public and private palaces, were allotted to the *amirs* for decoration at their own expense[4]. Hawkins writes, "The wealth and riches are wonderful that are to be seen in decking and setting forth of everyman's room or place[5]." The emperor was invited by each of these nobles, who after placing before him a sumptuous dinner presented him with gifts of jewels, pearls, diamonds and other rarities[6]. Jahangir once visited the house of Asaf Khan at a distance of about one *kos* from the palace for a dinner. "For half the distance he had laid down under foot velvet woven with gold." His presents included jewels, gold, ornaments, cloths of delicate stuff worth about Rs. 1,14,000 and four horses and one camel[7].

Itimad-ud-Daulah, after entertaining the king on another occasion presented him with a throne of gold and silver worth Rs. 4,50,000, jewels, ornaments and cloths of the value of Rs. 1,00,000 and Jahangir writes, "without exaggeration from the beginning of the reign of the late king until now not one of the *amirs* has presented such offering[8]."

1 T.A., II, p. 556.
2 Bernier, pp. 268-69 ; Manrique, II, 200-04 ; Storia, II, 348-49.
3 T.A., II, 556.
4 Bernier, p. 270.
5 Early Travels, p. 119.
6 T. A., II, p. 556.
7 R. and B., I, pp. 319-20.
8 *Ibid*, II, p. 80.

On the first and the last day of this festival the king took his seat on the throne in the midst of great rejoicing. The nobles and other great men stood in rows in order of their rank[1] and offered presents[2]. The king would then bestow *jagirs*, robes of honour, stipends, titles[3] and promotions in ranks. Money was distributed[4] and a fancy bazar held[5].

Birthday celebrations

The birthday[6] of the ruling monarch was celebrated throughout the empire with great pomp and show. Akbar introduced the custom of observing both his lunar and solar birthdays[7]. There were great rejoicings in the capital for five days. Presents were offered and gifts exchanged. Special dances were arranged at the court[8]. Feasts were given and bonfires lighted. Poets thrilled the hearts of the assembly with poems specially composed for the occasion[9]. All ranks of society indulged in gambling throughout this week. The royal palace and the courts were decorated as on the occasion of the *Nauroz* festival. The elephants and horses bedecked in rich trappings and glittering robes were brought before His Majesty for review[10]. A good part of the day was spent in these ceremonies after which the king paid a visit to his revered mother to "receive her felicitations" on this auspicious day[11].

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1 T. A., II, p. 556.

2 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XXVII, p. 50.

3 For award of titles etc. on *Nauroz* see T. A., II, pp. 637-38 R. and B., I, p. 320.

4 Badaoni, II, 172 ; Tr., II, 175. A lakh of rupees were distributed.

5 Bernier, p. 272. (Constable Edition, 1891).

6 Ain., I., pp. 266-67.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Thevenot, Chap. XXVI, p. 47.

9 Badaoni, II, 84 ; Tr., II, 85.

10 Thevenot, Chap. XXVI, p. 47.

11 Manrique II, pp. 200-04. See also R. and B. I, p. 78.

He was accompanied by all the high nobles, everyone of whom presented her with rich gifts[1].

In imitation of the Hindu fashion the king was weighed against certain precious metals and commodities on this occasion[2]. The ceremony was performed most solemnly with prayers, and was intended to afford an opportunity of dispensing charity to the poor[3] to ward off the evil effects of the stars[4]. Humayun had the distinction of being the first Mughal emperor to adopt this custom[5]. Akbar observed it twice a year on his solar as well as lunar (birthday) anniversaries[6]. This practice was continued by Jahangir and, with slight alterations, by Shahjahan. Aurangzeb, however, reverted to the old custom of having himself weighed only once a year and even this was dispensed with in his 51st year[7]. But he allowed it in the case of his sons on their recovery from illness on the specific condition that the money and articles should be distributed among the poor[8]. On his solar birthdays, the king was weighed 12 times against different commodities which were gold, quick silver, silk, perfumes, copper,

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1 De Laet, pp. 101-02. Hawkins says that each noble presented a jewel. Early Travels, p. 119 ; Mandelslo, p. 42.

2 For details see Early Travels, p. 119 ; Roe's Embassy, pp. 378-80 (edition 1926) ; Della Valle, p. 459 ; Manrique, II, pp. 200-04 ; De Laet, pp. 101-02. Mandelslo, p. 42 ; Tavernier, p. 122 ; Storia II, p. 348 ; Bernier, p. 272 ; Thevenot, XXVI, p. 47 and Qanun-i-Humayun, p. 76 ; Ain, I, (1873), pp. 266-67 ; R. and B. I, pp. 78, 115, 160 ; Padshahnama. I, p. 243 ; M. A. (Urdu), p. 51.

3 Roe's Embassy, (edition 1926) p. 379; Ain, I, (1873), pp. 266-67.

4 R. and B. I, pp. 115-116.

5 Qanun-i-Humayun, p. 76.

6 Ain, I, (1873), pp. 266-67.

7 In March 1670, Aurangzeb forbade the festivities which used to be held on his birthday.

8 Sarkar (History of Aurangzeb). III, pp. 85-6 ; Aurangzeb is said to have advised his grandson Muhammad Azim to get himself weighed against different metals twice a year to safeguard against spiritual ills. Bibliography of Mughal India by S. R. Sharma, p. 19.

rubi, tutiya, drugs, ghee, iron, rice, milk and some kinds of grains. On lunar birthdays the king was weighed against silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil and vegetables[1]. The first weighing was usually against gold followed by silver and other less costly articles[2]. The weight was carefully noted and there was much acclamation, if the king had gained in weight[3]. The princes and their sons were also weighed on their solar anniversaries[4]. The weighing commenced at the age of 2 years against one commodity, an additional one being added each year, till the number reached generally 7 or 8, but in no case it was to exceed[5] 12.

The articles against which the king and the princes were weighed were distributed among the Brahamans, *fakirs*, and other deserving persons[6]. Cows, sheep, horses and goats, too, formed a part of the charity[7]. A large number of small animals were also set free on this occasion[8]. European travellers' doubts whether such large quantities of gold and

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1 Ain, I, (1873), p. 266. Lahori retains gold also. (Lahori, I, A, pp. 243-44).

2 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 64 ; Roe's Embassy, p. 379.

3 Ovington, p. 179 ; Tavernier, p. 122 ; Bernier, p. 270.

4 Ain, I, 267. f.n. Jahangir once weighed Khurram on his lunar birthday against the established custom because of the latter's indisposition. Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 96 ; R. and B., I, p. 115. Also see Sharma's Bibliography, p. 19.

5 Ain, I, p. 267. f.n. Occasionally the courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Jahangir had his court doctor Ruhulla weighed once against silver and the sum was given to him besides three villages. R. and B., I, p. 283. Talib Kamil was once weighed against gold by Shahjahan's orders. Lahori, I, pp. 243-44.

6 Ain, I, (1873), pp. 266-67. Sometimes even courtiers got the share. Badaoni, II, pp. 84 ; Tr., II, 85 ; R. and B., I, pp. 78, 112 ; Lahori, I. A, pp. 243-44 ; De Laet, pp. 101-02.

7 Ain, I, (1873), p. 267. "According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls to people that breed them." R. & B., I, p. 183.

8 Ain. I, (1873), p. 267.

silver were actually given away to the poor[1] are wholly unjustified and need no consideration against authentic contemporary records[2]. After the ceremony the king ascended the throne in the later part of the day and received presents (from his nobles) which, according to Thevenot, were valued at millions of rupees[3]. The king then distributed among his courtiers newly coined rupees and fruits such as almonds, nuts and spices made of gold and silver[4]. He increased the *mansabs* of some and bestowed gifts and *jagirs*[5]. A sumptuous dinner or a wine party would mark the close of the function[6]. The wives of the nobles as well as chief ladies of the court also attended the palace on this day and offered gifts to the queens and princesses who in turn bestowed upon them costly *saropas* and jewels[7].

Humayun introduced another festival to be held on the anniversary of the coronation of the emperor[8]. It was observed with great public jubilation for a week[9]. Soldiers and officers also took

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1 Roe like other travellers such as Hawkins (p. 440); Mandelslo, (p. 42); and Tavernier, (I, p. 379) disbelieves that such large sums were given away in charity as it was seldom done publicly. Manrique rightly understands the nature of the Indians who believe that "charity which is done from the love of God should be made in secret."

2 Badaoni, II, 84; Tr., II, 85; Ain, I, (1873), pp. 266-67; Lahori, I, pp. 243-44; M. A. (Urdu), pp. 21, 51, 54; Storia, II, 348.

3 Early Travels, p. 119; Thevenot, XXVI, p. 47; Storia, II, p. 348.

4 Thevenot, XXVI, p. 47; Roe's Embassy (Ed. 1926), p. 379; Della Valle, p. 459; De Laet, pp. 101-02; Mandelslo, p. 42.

5 R. and B., I, p. 78. Qutb-ud-Din Koka was promoted to a rank of 5,000 personal and horse.

6 Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, E. & D., VI, p. 356.

7 Storia, II, p. 345.

8 Qanun-i-Humayun, pp. 19-20. It fell into disuse after Humayun, but was not stopped. R. and B., I, pp. 1,3,10. History of Jahangir by Beni Prasad, p. 136. Also see History of Shahjahan by Saksena, p. 246. Maasir (I, 42) refers to the practice of colour sprinkling.

9 Ovington, pp. 178-79. Painting No. 629, I.A.E., 2nd half of the 17th century shows emperor Shahajahan at the time of his accession.

part in the celebrations[1]. The bazars and chief public places were decorated. Fireworks were displayed and gaudy shows held throughout the length and breadth of the empire[2]. Tournaments in archery were arranged and rewards given to the winners[3]. The nobles offered presents and received grants in the form of *jagirs*, horses, etc. Large sums of money were distributed among the poor. Aurangzeb abolished the customary rejoicings on this occasion in the 21st year of his reign[4] (November, 1677), but otherwise continued to observe the festival.

Mina or fancy bazars

Humayun was the first among the Mughal emperors to introduce what later came to be known as *Mina Bazar*. The first of this kind was held on boats near the king's palace after the customary mystic feast[5]. Akbar, who continued the practice in a modified form, exalted such days as *khushroz* or joyful days[6]. Shahjahan's popular amusement was "a species of fair which was held for eight successive days in the gallery of the harem[7]."

No fixed interval seems to have been observed for holding such a bazar. According to Abul Fazl it was held once a month[8]. Shahjahan used to arrange

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1 Travels in India in the 17th century, pp, 305-06.

2 Ovington, pp. 178-79.

3 Qanun-i-Humayun, pp. 19-20.

4 History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 87.

5 H.N. (Bev), p. 126. According to the author of the Darbar-i-Akbari (Urdu) this custom was borrowed from Turkistan where such bazars are held once or twice in a week in every village and town. But there women, as well as men, attended it to buy and sell merchandise.

6 Ain, I, (1873), p. 277. For conflicting views regarding the motives of holding these bazars see Ain. I (1873), p. 277; Petermundy I, p. 238; Bernier, p. 273.

7 Storia, I, 195.

8 Ain. I (1873), p. 277.

such a bazar on the occasion of every festival[1]. It invariably followed the Nauroz celebrations[2].

The stalls in the specially constructed bazar were distributed among nobles to be arranged by their wives or daughters who acted as traders[3]. These ladies usually were "the handsomest and most engaging wives of the *umra*[4]." Rajput ladies also attended the show[5]. The shops were usually of goldsmiths, grocers, cloth merchants, etc.[6] The articles exhibited were costly ornaments, silk and other fabrics[7]. The King with princesses and the ladies of the royal seraglio would pay visits to the bazar, and make his bargain, frequently disputing to the value of a *dam*. According to travellers, jocular expressions were exchanged, the lady at the counter would call the king a miser, or a trader quite ignorant of the price of the merchandise[8]. Immensely pleased, the king would not hesitate to pay double the price asked for. After the women's bazar, a bazar for men was held and merchants brought their merchandise from all parts of the world[9].

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1 Bernier, p. 273.

2 *Ibid*, p. 272.

3 Petermundy, II, p. 238.

4 Bernier, p. 273.

5 Tod, I, pp. 401-02 ; Petermundy, II, p. 238.

6 Bernier, pp. 272-73.

7 Petermundy, II, p. 238. If we are to believe Badaoni, stalls in the fancy bazar were sometimes conducted by nobles themselves. He mentions one Shah Fathullah who in his stall "exhibited all sorts of skill such as the dragging about of weights and other storage contrivances." Badaoni, II, 322 ; Tr., II, p.331.

8 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XXVIII, p. 50.

9 Ain, I, (1873), p. 277.

Ab-i-Pashan

A festival very similar to *Holi* called "*Ab Pashan*[1]" by Jahangir and *Id-i-Gulabi* (rose water festival) by Lahori was celebrated at the Mughal court with great elegance on the commencement of the rainy season. The princes and the prominent nobles would take part in the festival and greatly delighted in sprinkling rose water over each other. It was customary to present the king with jewelled, golden flasks containing rose water, jujube-tree flower juice and the aroma of orange flowers on this festival[2].

Vasant Panchami

Vasant Panchami, which falls on the fifth lunar day in the bright fortnight of *Magh*[3] (January-February) and marks the advent of spring[4] was observed at the Mughal court. Hindus all over the country celebrated it even more enthusiastically than they do now and worshipped Sarasvati, the goddess of learning and art[5].

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1 Persian festival in memory of the rain which fell on the 13th of the Persian month of *Tir* and put an end to the famine. (Bahar-i-Ajam). R. & B., I, pp. 265, 295. A very illustrative painting No. 636, I. A. E., Mughal, early 17th century shows "The Emperor Jahangir celebrating the festival of *Aab-Pashi* or the sprinkling of rose water," painted by Govardhan on the 5th *Amardad* Day. Flasks full of rose water, white, yellow and blue are before Jahangir while around him stand courtiers and some ladies.

2 Lahori, I, 204; Amal-i-Salih, p. 374; R. & B., I, pp. 265, 295.

3 Ain., III, pp. 317-21.

4 Hindu Holidays, p. 238.

5 On this day pens, ink and books are revered and in Bengal *Sarasvati puja* is observed. Flowers and prayers are offered for the boon of knowledge, temporal and spiritual. See Malik Muhammad Jayasi's *Granthavali* (Hindi) by Ramchandra Shukla, pp. 90-92. See a painting "*Raga Vasanta*" Rajasthani, 1700 A. D. numbered 400 I. A. E. Also see Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 77.

Holi

Holi, one of the ancient festivals of the Hindus[1], was the most popular day of rejoicing, music and feast, as it is to-day. Colour throwing was a lively part of the celebrations. European travellers[2] who visited our country during the Mughal age describe the celebration of this festival at great length. Their description shows that it was observed in much the same manner as it is in the 20th century.

Rakshabandhan

Rakshabandhan[3], the greatest festival of the Brahamans, is observed on the full moon day of *Shravana* (July-August)[4]. *Rakhi* called "*Nighadasht*" by Jahangir[5], made of twisted linen rags[6], or silk cord (in case of the rich) was tied round the right wrist by one's sister. It was supposed to ward off the evil eye[7]. The brother who received the *rakhi* was bound to protect the life and honour of his sister. *Purohits,* or the royal priests, fastened the *rakhi* on the right wrists of their patrons[8]. The custom became an important institution with a moral appeal, the value of which cannot be exaggerated. When a lady sent a *rakhi* to someone, however different in caste and religion from her, he

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1 Ain, III, p. 321 ; Ain, II, p. 173 ; R. & B., I, pp. 245-46. Faiths, Fairs and Festivals, pp. 85-86 ; Hindu Holidays, p. 88 ; Hindu Muhammadan Feasts, p. 38 ; Crooke's Popular Religion, II, 313-22 : Punjab Notes and Queries, III, No. 553.

2 Monserrate, p. 22 ; Petermundy, II, 219 ; English Factories (1624-29), p. 246 : (1634-36), p. 136 ; (1637-44), p. 13 ; Mandelslo, 58 ; Storia, II, p. 154 ; Thevenot, Chap. XXXI, pp. 57-58 ; Hamilton, I, pp. 128-29. For a Holi scene see Painting No. 482, Kangra, 18th century. Also see 'History of Aurangzeb', III, p. 91.

3 *Raksha*-literally protection and *Bandhan*-tying.

4 Ain., III, pp. 317-21 ; Hindu Holidays, p. 178.

5 R. & B., I, 244.

6 Badaoni, II, 361 ; Tr. II, 269.

7 Hindu Holidays, p. 178. Also see Hindu Muhammadan Feasts, p. 65.

8 Ain., III, pp. 317-21 ; R. & B., I, p. 244.

became her "brother" with moral obligation to stand by her in times of need.

Akbar made it a national festival and had a *rakhi* tied on his wrist[1]. It became the custom for the courtiers and others to adorn the emperor's wrist with beautiful strings of silk, bejewelled with rubies and pearls and gems of great value[2]. Jahangir during his regime revived it and ordered that the "Hindu *amirs* and the head of the caste should fasten *rakhris* on my arm[3]."

Dasehra

Vijaya Dashami[4], popularly known as *Dasehra*, considered to be of the greatest significance for the Kshatriyas[5], is observed on the 10th lunar day of *Asoj* (September-October) in commemoration of Lord Rama's victory over Ravana[6]. It was observed then, as now, all over the country and theatrical shows were held to commemorate the war between Rama and Ravana. It was considered an auspicious day for undertaking a military expedition[7].

Dasehra was also celebrated at the Mughal court. Early in the morning, all the royal elephants and horses even those in stables were washed, groomed and caprisoned to be arrayed for inspection by the emperor[8]. Jahangir thus described the festival held on the 24th of *Mehr* (1619), "After the custom of India, they decorated the horses and

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1 Badaoni, II, 261-62 ; Tr. II, 269.

2 Ain. III, p. 319 ; R. & B., I, p. 246.

3 R. & B., I, p. 246.

4 Victory 10th day.

5 Ain. III, p. 319.

6 For Durga *puja* in temple see R. & B., I, pp. 224-25.

7 R. & B., I, p. 245 ; II, 100-01 ; For the Rajput celebration of the festival see Ain. III, pp. 317-21.

8 R. & B., II, p. 176. This custom still prevails in Hindu states. See Hindu Holidays, pp. 185-88.

produced them before me. After I had seen the horses, they brought some of the elephants[1]." It was the usual custom to offer presents on this festival and the king would bestow the royal favour on the deserving.

Diwali

Diwali or *Dipawali*, meaning a row of lamps, is observed on the 15th day of the first half of the Hindu month of *Kartika* (October-November)[2]. It is preceded by annual white-washing and cleaning of the houses, so essential on sanitary grounds[3]. On the *Diwali* day, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and prosperity, is worshipped after which illuminations take place. Sometimes fire-works were discharged and sweets and other presents were exchanged[4].

Gambling was considered auspicious on this occasion[5]. People kept awake the whole night trying one another's luck at dice[6]. Akbar was interested in the festive aspect of the celebrations, while Jahangir preferred gambling and sometimes ordered his attendants to play the games[7] in his presence for two or three nights[8]. Govardhan *puja* followed *Diwali*. It was observed as cows' day when

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1 R. & B., II, pp. 100-101; R. & B. I, p. 245. See also Alamgirnama, p. 914.

2 For general description see Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 18; South Indian Festivities, p. 152; Hindu Holidays, p. 42. For contemporary evidence see Bengal in the 16th century, pp. 185-86; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 309; Petermundy, II, 146; Ain., I, (1873), p. 216; III, pp. 305-07; R. & B., I, p. 246. For earlier reference see Alberuni's India, II, 182.

3 Faiths, Fairs, and Festivals, p. 106.

4 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 309; Hindus would open fresh accounts on this day. R. & B., I, 246.

5 Ain. I, 321; For earlier reference see Alberuni's India, II, p. 182.

6 R. & B., I, p. 246.

7 R. & B., I, p. 268.

8 *Ibid.* Bengal in the 16th century, pp. 185-86.

cattle were washed, ornamented and fed and worshipped. Akbar also took part in the celebrations and several adorned cows were brought before him[1].

Both the solar and lunar[2] eclipses[3] were observed with all sanctity by the Hindus. They kept a strict fast 24 hours before the actual eclipse and passed the day in prayers[4]. A bath in the Ganges on this occasion was regarded of special merit and large numbers resorted to Hardwar, Kashi and Prayag. Charity was bestowed on the poor and the needy[5].

Shivaratri

Shivaratri, or the festival of Lord Shiva, falls on the 14th day of the waning moon in the end of *Magh* (January-February) or beginning of *Phalguna* (February-March). It is observed for the atonement of one's sins and fulfilment of one's desires "during life and union with Shiva or final emancipation after death." Fasting, holding a vigil or worshipping the *Linga* during the night are special requisites on this occasion.

It was observed with all solemnity during the Mughal times. Akbar participated in the celebration and Jahangir also took interest in it. Abul Fazl writes, "Once a year also during the night called *Sivrat* a great meeting was held of all the *jogis* of the empire when the emperor ate and drank with the principal *Jogis* who promised him that he should live

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1 Ain., I, (1873), p. 216.

2 Bernier (1891), pp. 301-03 describes in detail the ceremonies performed by the Hindus on the occasion of an eclipse at Delhi in 1666 A. D.

3 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 308 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, pp. 28-30.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 308 ; Badaoni, II, 95 ; Tr. II, 94-95. Jahangir used to get himself weighed on solar and lunar eclipses and distributed money among the poor. R. & B., I. pp. 160, 183, 281.

three or four times as long as an ordinary man." Jahangir also refers to this festival in the Tuzuk[1].

Other Hindu festivals

Other important Hindu festivals were, as they are now, *Ramanavmi* and *Janmashtami*. The former is the anniversary of the day of birth of Lord Rama, which falls on the 9th lunar day in the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April)[2]. The latter is the anniversary of the birthday of Lord Krishna, which is celebrated on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of *Bhadaun* (August-September)[3].

Muharram

The Muslim month of mourning called *Muharram*[4] is the anniversary of Imam Hussain[5] whose death at Karbala is one of the most tragic events in the history of Islam. The first ten days of this month are observed as the days of lamentation by Muslims in general and Shias in particular[6]. The Mughal emperors, though Sunni in belief, put no

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1 R. & B., I, p. 361 ; Also see Ain., I, p. 210.

2 Ain. III (Sarkar), p. 350. Hindu Holidays, p. 194 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 67.

3 Ain. III (Sarkar), p. 352. Hindu Holidays, pp. 95-96 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 41.

4 For general account see Islami Teohar and Utsavs, p. 40 ; Crooke's Islam, pp. 159-61 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, pp. 106-09 ; Outlines of Islamic Culture, p. 717 etc. For contemporary description see Monserrate, p. 22 ; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 307 ; Pelsaert's India, p. 75 ; Petermundy, II, p. 219 ; Mandelslo, p. 42 ; Van Twist's "Description of India", J. I. H., April 1937, pp. 70-71. Also see Badaoni, I, 481 ; Tr. I, 623 ; K. K., II, p. 214 and History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 91.

5 The son of Ali and the grandson of the prophet. He died fighting at Karbala against Yazid, the son of the usurper Moaviah to the khalifaship of Islam. Outlines of Islamic Culture, p. 717.

6 Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 106.

restrictions on its observance[1]. Aurangzeb, however, stopped the practice of *Muharram* processions throughout his dominions. But though the *tazia* processions were never given up and *Muharram* assemblies, mourning and distribution of charity continued to be practised all over the country, sometimes *Muharram* celebrations were marred by riots between the Sunnis and the Shias in which considerable lives were lost[2].

Id-i-Milad

Id-i-Milad[3], or the feast of Prophet's nativity, was celebrated on the 11th of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* with great solemnity at the court. Special lectures were delivered narrating the chief incidents in the Prophet's life. A meeting of the sayyids, scholars and saints was arranged in the palace at Agra. That day Shahjahan leaving the throne took his seat on the carpet. Reciters read the Quran. Rose water was profusely sprinkled and sweets and *halwa* were distributed among the people. On one occasion twelve thousand rupees were given in charity by Shahjahan.

Shab-i-Barat

The night[4] of the Prophet's ascent to Heaven is celebrated on the 14th of *Shabban,* the 8th Arabic

1 Humayun had Shia tendencies, but remained a Sunni. Rulers of the Deccan, as Bahamanis, Adil Shahis, Nizam Shahis, Qutab Shahis, etc., belonged to Shia sect. Nurjahan's relatives were Shias. Naturally they influenced the Mughal rulers and, consequently, no bar was imposed on the celebrations of *muharram.* Islami Teohar, p. 40.

2 A similar riot occurred at Burhanpur in 1669 in which 50 persons were killed and 100 injured. Khafi Khan, II, p. 214. History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 91.

3 Lahori, I. A. pp. 230-31 ; Amal-i-Salih (I, p. 617) mentions 20,000 to have been given in charity.

4 Lahori calls it as *Lailat-ul-Barat*. *Shab* is night while *Barat* means notice. For general account see Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, pp. 111-12 ; Faiths, Fairs and Festivals, pp. 199-200 ; Islami Teohar, pp. 68-72 ; Crooke's Islam, pp. 203-04 ; For contemporary accounts see Mandelslo, p. 46 ; Thevenot, Pt. III, p. 31. Also see R. & B. II, pp. 22, 94, and Lahori, II, pp. 167-68.

month. The general belief is that on this night, the lives and fortunes of the mortals for the coming year are registered in heaven[1]. Muslims prepared stew, curds, sweetmeats, etc., in the name of their deceased relations on 13th *Shabban* either during the day or in the evening and offer *fatiha* over some portion of these dishes[2]. Sweets and presents were exchanged[3]. The actual festival is celebrated on the evening of the 14th[4].

The Muslims, during the Mughal days, illuminated their houses and shops and displayed fireworks[5]. Jahangir[6] and Shahjahan[7] were very particular about this festival and observed it regularly with great pomp and show. Shahjahan was at Lahore in 1639 when *Shab-i-Barat* was celebrated during the night of 11th *Shabban* A.H. 1049. The spacious courtyard of the public audience hall was illuminated in the Persian style under Ali Mardan Khan who was in charge of the arrangements[8]. The palaces, Government buildings, gardens, reservoirs, etc., were all illuminated. Temporary wooden structures, such as walls and domes, were raised and set with beautiful lamps[9]. Royal as well as private barges on the Ravi were beautifully decorated and outlined with coloured lights[10]. There was great display of fireworks in the evening in the court of *diwan-i-am* and the plain under the *jharoka-i-darshan*[11]. The emperor sat on the throne and

1 Islami Teohar and Utsav, p.p. 68-72.

2 Crooke's Islam, pp. 203-04. Islami Teohar, pp. 68-72.

3 Thevenot, Pt. III, p. 31, wrongly calls this festival as the feast of *Choubert*.

4 Crooke's Islam, pp. 203-04.

5 Thevenot, Pt. III, p. 31. Mandelslo, p. 46.

6 R. & B., II, pp. 22, 94.

7 Lahori, II, pp. 167-68.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.* Amal-i-Salih, I, pp. 285-86.

11 Lahori, II, pp. 167-68.

distributed Rs. 10,000 among the poor as gifts out of the gold of weighing *(az zar-i-wazn)*.

Id-ul-Fitr

Id-ul-Fitr[1] or the festival of breaking the fast, also known as *Id-ul-Saghir*, or the minor feast, begins on the first day of *Shawal* and continues for 2 days[2]. This day of rejoicing comes after the long-drawn-out fast of *Ramzan*[3], and is therefore particularly welcome.

During the Mughal age the sight of the new moon which preceded the *Id-ul-Fitr* was proclaimed by firing of guns and blowing of trumpets[4]. On the morning of the Id, Muslims performed careful ablutions[5] after which they dressed themselves in their best clothes[6]. Friends and relatives exchanged dainty dishes and visits and wished each other good luck[7]. Then followed enjoyments, including display of fireworks. The princes, nobles,

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1 For general account see Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India, p. 201 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 102 ; Islami Teohar, pp. 72-78 ; Herklots' Islam, pp. 211-13. Outlines of Islamic Culture, p. 704. For contemporary evidence see Roe's Embassy, p. 72 ; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 306. Pelsaert's India, p. 73 ; Della Valle, p. 428 ; Bernier (1914), p. 280 ; Ovington, p. 243 and Letters received by East India Company, Vol. IV, p. 10. Also see B. N., 235-36, 311, 410, 584, 683 and 689 ; T. A., II, p. 605 ; Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 37 ; Lahori, I, p. 259 and M. A. (Urdu), p. 28.

2 Islami Teohar, pp. 72-78. Crooke's Islam, pp. 211-14. Outlines of Islamic Culture, p. 704.

3 Ovington, p. 243 ; Storia, I, pp. 158-59. See also Letters received by East India Company, Vol. IV, p. 10.

4 Roe's Embassy, p. 72. Travels in India in the 17th century pp. 305-06. According to Della Valle "They set lamps on the tops of their houses and on all other most conspicuous places near their great tanks that are surrounded with buildings where those lights are doubled by reflection upon the water." Della Valle, p. 428.

5 B. N., pp. 235-36. On another place Babar says, "*Ramzan* was spent this year with ablution and *tarawih* in the garden of eight paradises." T. A., II, p. 605.

6 Pelsaert's India, p. 73.

7 *Ibid.*

courtiers and other high state officials[1] gathered in the audience hall to offer their greetings to the emperor[2]. In the afternoon they assembled in the *Idgah* to offer prayers[3]. During the first year of his reign Jahangir went to the *Idgah* to offer his thanks and prayers[4]. He set apart a large sum of money to be distributed among the poor and the needy. Shahjahan followed the practice of his father and on one such occasion (in 1628) gave Rs. 30,000 in charity, besides grants in land and daily allowances to the deserving[5]. An idea of the royal procession to the *Idgah* can be formed from the picturesque description given by Rai Chandrabhan Brahaman[6]. Even parsimonious Aurangzeb used to celebrate this festival with great enthusiasm. In the provincial capitals the governors presided over the *Id* celebrations[7].

Id-ul-Zuha

Id-ul-Zuha or *Bakr Id*[8] is the feast of sacrifice held on the day or the evening of the 10th *Zu-i-Hijja*, the 12th month of the Muslim year[9]. The

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1 M. A. (Urdu), p. 28.

2 Lahori, I, p. 259 ; Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 37.

3 Here in the *Idgah* some selected parts of the holy Quran are "publicly read unto them" (Della Valle, p. 429) by the Imam. (Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 102).

4 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 37.

5 This is the amount distributed during *Ramzan* and the *Id*. Lahori, I, p. 259.

6 See Chahar Chaman for details.

7 For Aurangzeb see M. A. (Urdu), p. 28. For celebration in the provinces and cities see Roe's Embassy, p. 72 ; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 306.

8 For general account see Islami Teohar, pp. 78-88. Crooke's Islam, p. 214 ; Faiths, Fairs and Festivals, p. 201 ; Observations on the Mussulmauns of India, I, p. 259 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, pp. 102-03. For contemporary evidence refer to Early Travels in India, p. 318 ; Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 306 ; Petermundy, II, p. 196 ; Storia, II, pp. 349-50. Also see A. N. II, 31 ; Tr. II, 51 ; R. & B., I, p. 189.

9 Crooke's Islam, p. 214. Faiths, Fairs and Festivals, p. 201 ; Observations on the Mussulmauns of India, I, p. 259 ; Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, pp. 102-03.

sacrifice of a quadruped, such as, a goat, a sheep or even a cow perfect in all parts, made on this occasion is in commemoration of the ram which "redeemed Ismail when his father Abrahim was ready to make him a sacrifice" as an offering to God[1]. Jahangir once sacrificed three goats with his own hand[2] at this festival.

The festival was observed with ceremonious display during the Mughal times. The king used to participate. Preparations were made both in the capital and in the provinces well in advance. The people assembled in large numbers in the *Idgah* at the appointed hour. The emperor would ride in procession and sometimes even take up his quarters at the *Idgah*[3]. The sacrifice of a camel would be performed in his presence with due ceremonials[4].

In the provincial capitals the governor acted in place of the king, visited the *Idgah* with no less pomp, and sacrificed a ram or a goat with the usual rites and ceremonies[5]. The people who could afford it, performed the same ceremony at their homes by solemnly killing a ram or a goat in memory of the ram offered for Ismail.[6] They also cooked stew, sweetmeats, and griddle cakes and offered *fatiha* in the name of their deceased relatives[7].

Other Muslim festivals

Another equally important Muslim festival, namely, *Bara Wafat*[8], was observed on the 12th of

1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 306.
2 R. & B., I, p. 189; Petermundy, II, p. 196.
3 A. N., II, 31; Tr., II, p. 51.
4 Storia, II, pp. 349-50.
5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 306.
6 Terry in Early Travels in India, p. 318.
7 Crooke's Islam, p. 214.
8 *Barah* means twelve and *wafat* means death. (Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts, p. 98). In private houses and mosques meetings are held at which the story of the birth, miracles and death of the prophet is recited. *Ibid*, p. 98.

the month of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* in commemoration of the Prophet's birth and death.

A few other festivals such as *Akhiri Chahar Shamba*, *Chahellum*, etc., were observed, but they were not so important or popular as the two *Ids*, *Shab-i-Barat* and *Bara Wafat*.

Fairs

Periodical fairs were held at numerous seats of Hindu pilgrimage to which Hindu men, women and children used to throng. In medieval times religious fairs served a double purpose, namely, religious and social. To the devout, a visit to holy places and a dip in the holy waters were the means of attaining religious merit, but to the common man they had a social and economic significance also. In those days of slow and primitive means of communications, the fairs afforded a meeting ground to the Hindus of all castes and provinces. They served as a means of obliterating minor local and provincial differences. They also reminded the Hindus of the essential unity of their faith and culture.

There were too many local fairs in every province, hallowed by the memory of some great personality and associated with some events in the lives of our *avatars*. The most important[1] of all-India fairs were held at Hardwar, Prayag[2], Mathura, Ayodhya, Gaya, Garhmukteshwar, Ujjain, Dwarka, Puri, Nagarkot, Kanchi and Rameshwaram. The Kumbh fairs at Prayag, Hardwar and Kurukshetra were considered particularly important and attracted lakhs of persons, as they do even today.

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1 Ain., III (Sarkar), pp. 332-36.

2 Manrique, II, p. 146.

Muslim fairs were held at Ajmer, Panipat, Nizamuddin Auliya, Sirhind, Ajodhan, etc. They, too, attracted a large number of pilgrims from every part of the country.

CHAPTER V

POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

The Purdah System

Woman held an honoured position in the Vedic age and was quite competent to take part in every aspect of the social, intellectual and spiritual life of the race[1]. During the period that followed the Vedic age there was gradual deterioration of her position, but she still retained a large measure of freedom in the disposal of her own person and fortune[2]. As a girl, she was under the guardianship of her father, as wife under her husband, and as a widow under that of her son.

Nowhere in all these periods is there a definite suggestion of the existence of any seclusion of women or of child marriage[3]. With the advent of Islam new social forces appeared on the Indian horizon. It is true, polygamy was not unknown to the ruling classes of the Hindu population before the advent of Muslims, but this received great encouragement owing to the impact of Muslim ideas. Strict veiling of women was the common practice among the Muhammadans. The adoption of the latter custom by the Hindu women under the stress of circumstances brought about their social, political and intellectual

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1 Hymns of the Rigveda, I, pp. 96, 106, 172, 182, 463 ; Hindu Law by H. S. Gour, p. 1174 ; The Position of Women in Hindu Law by D. N. Mitter, pp. 600-01.

2 The Spirit of Indian Civilization, p. 157 ; Majumdar, "The Vedic Age", pp. 512-13 ; Position of Women in Hindu Law, pp. 63, 79, 97, 100 ; Women in the Sacred Scriptures of the Hindus, p. 71.

3 Rigveda, X, 85, 27 ; The Position of Women in Hindu Law, pp. 170, 196-98.

stagnation. Their position as girls, wives and widows was reduced to that of dependents and subordinates.

The *purdah* system in all probability was unknown in ancient India[1]. Its general adoption, according to Dr. Altekar, is subsequent to the advent of Muslim rule in India[2]. *Purdah* was strictly observed in their native lands[3]. Naturally in a foreign country like India greater stress was laid upon it. Even a liberal king like Akbar had to issue orders that, "If a young woman was found running about the streets and bazars of the town and while so doing did not veil herself or allowed herself to become unveiled...she was to go to the quarters of the prostitutes and take up the profession[4]." Hindus adopted *purdah* as a protective measure[5] to save the honour of their women-folk and to maintain the purity of their social order[6]. The tendency to imitate the ruling class was another factor which operated in favour of introducing *purdah* among Hindu families.

Purdah was strictly observed among high class families of both the communities during the Mughal period[7]. It was prevalent in Bengal and U.P. among rich Hindu families, as has been noted by Jayasi[8], Chaitanya and Vidyapati. Seclusion came to be regarded as a sign of respect and nobility. Wives of the nobles lived in spacious houses surrounded by

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1 The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization by A. S. Altekar, p. 206.

2 *Ibid*, p. 206 : Position of Women in Hindu Law, p. 170.

3 Arabia and Turkistan. Persian Women and Their Ways, pp. 60-64.

4 Badaoni, II, pp. 391-92 ; Tr., II, pp. 404-06.

5 The Spirit of Indian Civilization, pp. 163-64.

6 Purdah, p. 65.

7 Mandelslo, p. 51 ; Della Valle, p. 461 ; Bernier, p. 413.

8 Padavali Bangiya of Vidyapati Thakur (Tr. Coomaraswami and Arunsen, London 1915).

high walls with tanks, gardens and other luxuries inside[1]. Eunuchs were frequently employed as the medium of communication between the male and female members of a royal or noble family[2]. Ovington writes : "All the women of fashion in India are closely preserved by their husbands who forbid them the very sight of strangers[3]." Even male doctors were not allowed to face the ailing ladies of noble and princely families. A curious method was adopted for diagnosing the disease without seeing the patient's face or feeling her pulse. A handkerchief was rubbed all over the body of the patient and then put into a jar of water. By its smell the doctor judged the cause of illness and prescribed the medicine[4].

Ladies of high families thought it improper to move out without aristocratic veils[5]. Della Valle writes : "For these (Muslim ladies) unless they be dishonest or poor never come abroad[6]." They thought it derogatory to stir out except on special occasions and even then in closely covered palanquins surrounded on all sides by servants and eunuchs[7]. Princesses would go out rarely and that, too, only with the previous permission of the king. They went out usually in the morning in palanquins accompanied by slaves. At the entrance of the residence, palanquin-carriers would be replaced by females to carry them further inside[8]. When a princess desired to ride on an elephant, the animal was made to enter a tent

1 Pelsaert's India, p. 64.

2 Ovington, p. 211.

3 *Ibid.*

4 John Marshall in India, p. 328.

5 Mandelslo, p. 51.

6 Della Valle, p. 411.

7 Mandelslo, p. 51 ; Bernier, p. 413.

8 Tavernier, p. 125.

near the palace-gate and the mahout covered his face with a cloth so that he might not see the princess when she entered into the covered *howdah*[1]. None dared to pass on the road when the royal ladies went out in a procession. Bernier rightly observes : "It is indeed a proverbial observation in these armies that three things are to be carefully avoided, the first getting among the choice and led horses where kicking abounds, the second on the hunting ground, the third a too near approach to the ladies of the seraglio[2]." If for any reason a Muslim lady of rank discarded *purdah* even for a temporary period, the consequences for her were disastrous. Amir Khan, the governor of Kabul, felt no scruple in renouncing his wife when her *purdah* was broken in an attempt to save her life by leaping from the back of the elephant who had run amuck[3].

Nurjahan was a notable exception. Beni Prasad writes : "She broke the *purdah* convention and did not mind to come out in public." *Purdah* was gradually spreading in Rajputana, but it was less vigorously observed in Rajput families, where the ladies, trained in all the arts of warfare, would frequently take part in hunting parties and other expeditions. Barring notable Muslim families there, South Indians did not adopt *purdah*. In Malabar wives welcomed guests and talked familiarly with them[4].

Purdah was no less strictly observed among middle class Muslim ladies who dared not move out of doors without a veil[5], which consisted of a *burqa*

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1 Storia, II, pp. 333-34.

2 Bernier, p. 374.

3 Studies in Mughal India, p. 116.

4 Ovington, p. 213.

5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384 ; Hamilton, I, p. 163.

or a *chadar* and hid her from top to toe. She was thus able to see others through the thin layer of net, but could not be seen by them[1]. Hamilton writes : "The Muhammadan women always go veiled when they appear abroad[2]." Muhammadans, according to Ovington[3] and Dr. Fryer[4], were very jealous of their wives. Even the meanest among them would not allow his wife to stir out uncovered. Those among them who could afford it, went out in palanquins and coaches covered on all sides[5]. If we are to believe Della Valle, the Muhammadans would not allow their wives to talk even to their relatives, except in their presence[6].

No purdah for common women

No such coercive *purdah* system seems to have been observed among the Hindu middle class and certainly not among the Hindu masses. Hindu ladies could move out of doors with little or no restriction[7]. Della Valle writes : "Hindus take one wife and of her they are not so fearful and jealous as the Muhammadans are of their several wives and women, for they suffer their wives to go abroad whither they please[8]." Both the sexes had sufficient liberty to go out and enjoy the open air[9]. It was the usual custom for husbands or some other male relations to accompany women when going out of doors[10]. Unlike Muslim women they did not cover

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1 Persian Women and Their Ways, p. 61.

2 Hamilton, I, p. 163 (Edition MX CCXXVII).

3 Ovington, p. 211.

4 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 181.

5 Mandelslo, p. 66 ; Della Valle, p. 24 ; De Laet, p. 81.

6 Della Valle, p. 430.

7 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 182.

8 Della Valle, p. 434. Wheeler's History of India, IV, Pt. II, (London, 1881).

9 De Laet, p. 81.

10 Grose I, p. 193.

themselves from head to foot[1]. It was enough to have a sheet or *dopatta* to cover their heads.

Women of the lower stratum of our society, such as, peasant and working classes, were entirely free from the bondage of *purdah*[2]. They were expected to help their husbands in all "external pursuits and internal economy[3]." They used to take their bath publicly at river-sides[4] and would visit shrines travelling on foot without any restriction whatsoever. It was everywhere a common sight to see women water-carriers walking along the streets without any *purdah*[5].

Unwelcome daughters

The birth of a daughter was considered inauspicious. The very silence with which a female child was received was indicative of disappointment[6]. She was not as welcome as a boy. Even in the royal family the difference was clear and well-marked. Only women rejoiced and feasted on the birth of a daughter, while the whole court took part in the celebrations, if a prince was born[7]. We can well understand the anxiety of Akbar who had "resolved within himself that if Almighty God should bestow a son on him, he would go on foot from Agra to Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti's mausoleum, a distance of about 140 *kos*[8]."

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1 Mandelslo, p. 51.

2 De Laet, p. 81.

3 Tod, II, pp. 710-11.

4 Grose, I, pp. 114-15.

5 Ovington, p. 320.

6 A Rajput is often heard to say, "Accursed to the day when a woman child is born to me." Tod, II, pp. 739-40. A verse of the Atharv-veda rightly echoes the general desire of the birth of a son and not a daughter, "The birth of a girl grant it elsewhere, here grant a boy." Atharv-veda, VI, pp. 2-3.

7 Storia, II, p, 343.

8 R. & B., I, pp. 1-2.

A wife who unfortunately happened to give birth to girls in succession was despised and even sometimes divorced[1]. The deplorable custom of infanticide was luckily confined only to a very minor section of the less cultured Rajput families[2]. The scarcity of suitable matches due to the prohibition of inter-marriage between families of the same clan and continuous wars and feuds with the remote tribes together with the sentiment that an unworthy match lowers the prestige of a bride's father led them to resort to this practice[3].

Polygamy among rich Muslims

The Quran, no doubt, permits a Muhammadan to marry four wives[4] at a time, but monogamy seems to have been the rule among the lower stratum of society in both the communities, during the Mughal period[5]. In spite of the decision of the *ulema* in the *Ibadat Khana* that a man might marry any number of wives by *mutah* but only four by *nikah*[6], Akbar had issued definite orders that a man of ordinary means should not possess more than one wife unless the first proved to be barren[7]. He considered it highly injurious to a man's health to keep more than one wife[8]. Polygamy was the privilege of the rich Muhammadans, each of whom kept 3 or 4 wives at a time. Mirza Aziz Koka's well-known proverb deserves mention. He used to say that "a man should marry four wives, a Persian to have somebody to talk to, a Khurasani for his housework, a Hindu

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1 A. N., III, 58 and 260 ; Tr. III, 83 and 378. Also see Storia II, p. 343.

2 Altekar, p. 9.

3 Tod, II, pp. 739-40.

4 "Marry whatever woman you like three and three, four and four" Quran instructs.

5 Badaoni, II, 356 ; Tr., II, 367.

6 Badaoni, II, 208-09 ; Tr., II. 212.

7 Badaoni, II, 356 ; Tr., II, 367.

8 Ain., I, (1873), p. 277.

woman for nursing his children, and a woman of Mavarunnahr to have someone to whip as a warning for the other three[1]." The co-wives rivalled each other and used all devices to excel one another and thereby win the love of their husband[2]. Each of them received fixed monthly allowance in addition to clothes, jewellery, and other household necessities. Polygamy naturally brought many evils in its train[3]. A single husband could hardly be expected to satisfy his several wives who wore the most expensive clothes, ate the daintiest food and enjoyed all worldly pleasures[4]. Domestic unhappiness and immorality, in some cases at least, was the natural consequence.

Hindus monogamous

Hindus, with the exception of a small number of princes[5] and very wealthy persons, strictly restricted themselves to monogamy as enjoined by their social custom. Della Valle writes : "Hindus take but one wife and never divorce her till death, except for the cause of adultery[6]." Mandelslo[7], Hamilton[8], Orme[9] and Stavorinus[10] corroborate it. In the extreme case if a wife proved to be barren, they had the liberty to marry another with the consent of the Brahamans[11].

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1 Saying of Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka vide I. N., p. 230 ; Ain., I, (1873), p. 327.

2 Mandelslo, p. 64 ; Thevenot, Ch. I, p. 88.

3 *Ibid.* Pelsaert's India, p. 66.

4 Pelsaert's India, p. 66.

5 According to Mukundram, polygamy prevailed in Hindu society at that time, though it was not regarded with high favour. Bengal in the 16th century, p. 178.

6 Della Valle, (Edition Edward Grey), I, pp. 82-83.

7 Mandelslo, p. 52.

8 Hamilton, I, p. 157 (New Edition).

9 Orme's Fragments, p. 408.

10 Stavorinus, I, p. 440.

11 *Ibid*, Mandelslo, p. 52.

Child marriage

As a general rule, a girl of either community was brought up under close parental supervision[1]. Higher education was denied to middle class and ordinary ladies and learning was restricted to primary subjects. Their training was confined to home and domestic affairs, such as needlework, embroidery, dressing the victuals, cooking[2], etc. Life-long celibacy for girls was discouraged and every girl had to be given away in marriage. On account of this and political and socio-religious circumstances of the time, parents tried to marry their daughters as early as possible. The custom in those days did not allow, for whatever reasons, girls to remain in their parents' home for more than 6 to 8 years after their birth. They were married even before the age of puberty, usually when 6 or 7 years old[3]. One of the Brahaman generals of the Peshwa was filled with great anxiety because his daughter's marriage could not be arranged at the age of nine. "If the marriage is postponed to the next year," he writes from the battle-field, "the bride will be as old as ten. It will be a veritable calamity and scandal[4]." A father, according to Mukundram, "who could get his daughter

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1 Orme's Fragments, p. 438.

2 Storia, III, p. 55 ; Tod, II, p. 712.

3 Hindus, as a protection against Muslim raiders, who would not usually carry off married women, resorted to early marriage of their daughters. It also acted as a safeguard against vices and helped the bride to know her husband before physical consummation. Tavernier, XXIV, p. 181. Persian Women and Their Ways, p. 109. Akbar abhorred marriages before the age of puberty. Ain., I, (1873) p. 277. European travellers write about the early marriages of young girls. Manucci (III, pp. 59-60) writes : "They married their girls even before they were able to speak." "Married before the age of ten years" (Early Travels, p. 17), "Several years before the age of puberty", Ain., I, (1873), p. 277 ; according to Thevenot at the age of 4, 5 or 6 years, while Tavernier puts the marriage age at 7 or 8.

4 Altekar, p. 73.

married in her 9th year was considered lucky and worthy of the favours of God[1]."

The rigidity of the custom coupled with the celebration of the marriage at a very tender age left no room, whatsoever, for either the bride or the bridegroom to have time to think of a mate of their own choice. The custom left it solely to the discretion of the parents, or of the nearest relatives and friends to arrange the match[2]. Seldom was there a wish expressed by any female relation of the bridegroom to see the bride before the marriage[3]. As for Muslims, it was contrary to their acknowledged custom[4]. The marriage had to be settled on hearsay reports with an advantage to the bride's parents who had an opportunity to see and satisfy themselves about the boy, if they so desired. Dowry was demanded, and sometimes parents disregarded the suitability of the match[5] and cared primarily for a rich dowry. In some castes and localities the bridegroom had to pay money to the bride's guardians[6].

Money played an important part when a marriage was arranged between persons of unequal ages[7] or social status. Sometimes for the sake of wealth a young man would marry a woman older than himself. The evil grew so much that Akbar issued orders that if a woman "happened to be older by twelve years than her husband, the marriage should be considered as illegal and annulled[8]." In

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1 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 178. Akbar's orders prohibiting marriage of girls before 12 years and boys before 16 did not stop this practice; Badaoni, II, 338; Tr., II, 349.

2 Pelsaert's India, p. 82.

3 Storia, III, p. 55.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 152, 155.

5 Altekar, p. 49. For dowry refer to Samuel Purchas' India, p. 191.

6 Storia, III, p. 55.

7 *Ibid*.

Badaoni, II, 391; Tr. II, 405.

some cases betrothals were fixed, as we see even today, among the rural folk before the actual birth of their children, if "death and sex disapproves not[1]". Akbar tried in vain to bring home to his people that the consent of the bride and bridegroom as well as permission of the parents was essential before the confirmation of the engagement[2].

There seems to have been greater liberty at least to girls belonging to high class Rajput families to choose a husband. The princess of Rupnagar, charmed with the gallantry of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, invited him "to bear her from the impending union with the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb". Sometimes a romantic lady would fix the price of her hand. Tarabai, the daughter of Rao Surthan, promised to marry the youth who would recover her[3] father's domain Todah from the Pathans. Jaimal, the brother of Prithvi Raj won her[4]. Karamdevi, the beautiful daughter of the Mohil chieftain, took the risk of renouncing her betrothal with the heir of the Rao of Mandor and chose to be the bride of Sadhu, heir of Pugal, whose admiration she had won. Tod writes : "The passion of the daughter of the Mohil was fostered at the risk of the destruction not only of her father's house but also that of her lover". The returning bridal party was attacked by the slighted heir of Mandor and the brave Sadhu was slain, and Karamdevi, "at once a virgin, a wife and a widow" followed her lover and became *sati*[5].

As a wife

As already narrated, the ordinary Indian girl had no choice in the selection of her husband.

1 Samuel Purchas' India, p. 90 ; Early Travels, p. 221.

2 Ain, I, (1873), p. 277.

3 Tod, I, p. 441.

4 Tod, II, p. 783.

5 Tod, II, pp. 731-32.

When married, the mother-in-law would exercise control over her and her commands must be carried out. If she failed to come up to her standard, she might be divorced in a Muhammadan family, and her life would become miserable in a Hindu home. Her position was not better than that of an ordinary maid. She had to please each and every member of her husband's family by rendering every possible domestic service. She would perform all the household duties, dusting, sweeping, and washing the floor, cleaning the cooking pots and utensils. She had to look after the cows and other domestic animals, besides supervising the other works entrusted to her. But when grown up and away from the dominating influence of her mother-in-law, a middle class lady had large powers in the management of the household. She would control its expenditure and supervise the general arrangement of the kitchen, and furniture and perform periodical religious and secular functions[1]. She had to prove herself a devoted wife who would not take meals until her husband had dined[2]. When in child-bed she had enforced rest and retired to a separate room during her periods.

Bartolomeo notices with appreciation the great respect paid to a pregnant woman ; not only her husband and relations, but all the inhabitants of the place belonging to her caste prayed for her health and safety[3]. But for a certain number of days after delivery she was not considered fit to be touched by

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1 Altekar, p. 396 ; while going to enrol his son in the school, we find Kalu, the father of Guru Nanak, asking his wife for some money ; Macauliffe's Sikh Religion, I, pp. 2-3.

2 Storia, III, p. 155.

3 According to the traveller, they considered pregnancy as a very distinguished proof of the blessing of Goddess Lakshmi ; Bartolomeo, pp. 253-54.

any one except the mid-wife who attended to her needs. Her food, according to Manucci, would be left at a distance and none would approach her, lest he or she might be defiled[1].

The position of a woman with regard to her husband was that of a dependent[2], in honourable subordination, at least as long as mutual relations remained cordial. Jahangir writes in the Tuzuk, "It is a maxim of Hindus that no good deed can be performed by men in the social state without the partnership or presence of the wife whom they have styled the half of man[3]". Both would give way to accommodate each other to prevent their domestic happiness from being marred. Her counsels carried weight, especially when she had become a mother. But still the last word was that of her husband. Even "the daughter of a hundred kings" who had contemptuously refused to fetch a glass of water for her lord, and thus become "cup-bearer to the chieftain of Sadri" had to be reminded by her father, the Rana of Mewar, of her position as a wife with respect to her husband, the Chief of Sadri. The heir-apparent of Mewar stood at the edge of the carpet spread in the darbar hall "performing the menial office of holding the slippers of the chief[4]", who had been invited to the court by his sovereign. Tod writes: "Shocked at such a mark of respect, he stammered forth some words of homage, his unworthiness etc." to which the Rana replied, "as my son-in-law no distinction too great can be conferred. Take home your wife, she will never again refuse you a cup of water[5]".

1 Storia, III, p. 155; Macauliffe, I, p. 242.

2 Stavorinus writes: "The women live in the strictest subjection to their husbands," Stavorinus, I, pp. 440-41; Matla-ul-Alwar of Amir Khusrau, 192, 117. See Padumavat edited by Grierson and Dvivedi, p. 256.

3 R. & B., I, p. 359.

4 Tod, II, p. 713.

5 *Ibid.*

Some of the husbands, however, it is to be regretted, treated their wives very harshly. Such men, however, suffered from some mental defect, such was Khwaja Muazzam, the maternal uncle of Akbar[1].

But with all this, the ladies belonging to high and respectable old families, especially Rajputanis, were reluctant to compromise when their self-respect was at stake. Raja Jai Singh of Amber once cut a joke with his wife, the princess of Haraoti, about the simplicity of her dress. He began playfully to "contrast the sweeping jupe of Kotah with the more scanty robe of the belles of his own capital and taking up a pair of scissors said he would reduce it to an equality with the latter". Greatly annoyed, she spoke in words which clearly bring forth the true sex relations prevalent among high Rajput families, "Mutual respect is the guardian not only of happiness but of virtue" and if again she was insulted, he would find that "the daughter of Kotah could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Amber the scissors[2]". Bernier rightly remarks that many girls would have led a happy married life, if their parents had connected them with a family less noble than their own[3]. Hamida Banu's attitude in this respect is admirable. She declined to enter into matrimonial alliance with a monarch exclaiming, "I would rather marry a man whose lapel I can hold than one whose pedestal I cannot reach[4]". Rajputanis had the courage even to admonish their husbands, when they went astray from the path of duty. When Jaswant Singh, the king of Marwar, retreated after fighting the deadly battle of Dharmat with Aurangzeb, his wife, according to

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1 A N., II, 217 ; Tr. II, p. 336. Also see Tod, II, pp. 784-85 for another instance.

2 Tod, II, pp. 728-30.

3 Bernier, p. 259.

4 H. N. G. (Bev), p. 151.

Ferishta, "disdained to receive him and shut the gates of the castle". She cried out that he could not be her husband, "the son-in-law of the Rana cannot possess a soul so abject. I am deceived, my husband is certainly killed. It cannot be otherwise[1]".

Whatever might have been the respective positions of wife and husband, it is a fact beyond dispute that most of the Hindus managed to lead a happy domestic life. The woman adorned her husband with passionate reverence and in return her husband rendered her all tenderness and protection. As a natural consequence, the true love and affection of the husband to his wife was unfailing. He would stick to monogamy and seldom fall a victim to adultery[2]. Tavernier rightly observes: "Banias (Hindus) when married are seldom untrue to their wives[3]". He would address her as "O thou mother of our son, I desire not paradise itself, if thou art not satisfied with me". Vulgar equality had no meaning. It was a love reciprocated. The result was a happy conjugal life in most cases[4].

As a widow

Divorce[5] and remarriages, common among Muslims, were prohibited to Hindu women. The Hindu husband could remarry[6] in certain circumstances, as on the death of his wife or if she proved to be barren[7]. But a Hindu woman had no such

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1 Bernier, p. 41.

2 Tavernier, III, p. 181.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Ovington, p. 331. According to the traveller, sometimes the husbands would burn themselves with their wives out of sheer love, p. 343.

5 High dowries, no doubt, prevented rash divorces, but Akbar disapproved high dowries. Ain., I, (1873), p. 277. For high dowries prevalent in those days ; T. A., II, trans., p. 616.

6 Della Valle, (Ed. Edward Grey), I, pp. 82-83.

7 Stavorinus, I, p. 440 ; Mandelslo, p. 52.

privilege. Dr. Altekar rightly observes, "No divorce was allowed, even if the husband was a moral wreck or grievously ill-treated his wife[1]". Even when the husband died, the woman had no choice even if she desired to remarry. "Nor could she find any of her own race who would take her, because she would be accounted as bad, as infamous in desiring a second marriage[2]".

Widow re-marriage except for the lower caste people had disappeared almost completely in Hindu society during the early medieval age[3]. This custom suffered little change during the Mughal days and was even more rigorously enforced. Hindu ladies, according to Ovington, disliked and abhorred the very idea of remarrying and preferred to maintain their fidelity even after the death of their husbands[4]. Seldom did a woman desire to outlive her husband unless she was big with a child. *Sati* was a prevalent practice, in spite of the efforts of the Mughals to check it[5]. Linked as they used to be from their infancy, separation was intolerable[6]. In *sati* they saw hidden the symbolic meaning, the deep passionate joy of the sacrifice and the expression of love stronger than death. Even the betrothed girls had to commit *sati* on the funeral pyre of their would-be husbands[7].

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1 Altekar, p. 102.

2 Della Valle, (Ed. Edward Grey), I, pp. 82-83.

3 This prohibition was complete in the higher section of the society, while those belonging to the lower stratum continued to remarry ; Altekar, p. 183.

4 Ovington, pp. 323-24.

5 "Force is not applied as they say and it may be true at least in the countries where Mohammadan commands, for there no woman is suffered to be burnt without leave of the Governor of the place to whom it belongs if not to examine whether the woman be willing and because there is also paid a good deal of money." Della Valle (Ed. Edward Grey), I, p. 85 ; Storia, III, p. 156 ; Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, E. & D., VI, p. 376.

6 Ovington, p. 323.

7 Tod, II, p. 865.

Far from being well disposed towards them, society treated very unfairly those widows who would not burn themselves with their dead husbands. Society looked down upon them[1]. They were not allowed to wear their hair long or to put on ornaments[2]. Widowhood was considered a punishment for the sins of one's previous life[3]. These unfortunate creatures had to put up with their parents who treated them no better than ordinary maids, doing all the menial jobs in the house, hated and despised even by their "family and caste as being afraid of death[4]". The very few who desired to remarry disregarding the custom were turned out of their caste and community and finding it impossible to find a husband in their own community had "recourse to Christians and Muhammadans[5]". Widow re-marriage was allowed by Muhammadan law and was practised by the rich and the poor alike.

As a mother

Whatever might have been the position of a woman as a girl, bride and widow, she certainly occupied a most respectable position in society as a mother. Manu emphatically asserts that a mother "is more to be revered than a thousand fathers[6]". Apastamba writes : "Women as mothers are the best and the foremost preceptors of children[7]". The Muhammadan religion, too, enjoins upon its followers to revere their mothers for "Paradise lies

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1 Mandelslo, p. 86 ; Bernier, p. 314 ; Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 84 ; Stavorinus, I, pp. 440-41.

2 Nicholas Withington (1612-16) in Early Travels, p. 219 ; Storia, III, p. 61.

3 Della Valle, p. 435 ; Bernier, p. 314.

4 Storia, III, p. 60 ; Thevenot, Chap. XLIX, Pt. III, p. 84.

5 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 84. According to Ovington (p. 332) sometimes Brahmans left large amounts of money for the maintenance of their widows.

6 The Spirit of Indian Civilization, p. 158.

7 Apastamba, II, 5-11-7.

at the feet of the mother[1]". From the king down to the peasant, all had the greatest respect for their mothers and for elderly women whose commands were invariably obeyed. We have numerous instances recorded in the contemporary records of the period of Mughal kings who would travel some stages to receive their mothers. They would perform *kornish, sijdah* and *taslim,* when entering their presence[2]. Jahangir writes, "I went to meet my mother at Dhar (near Lahore) and performed *kornish, sijdah* and *taslim* with all obedience and then took leave of her[3]". On his birthday the Mughal emperor accompanied by princes and nobles would necessarily pay a visit to his mother to receive her felicitations and present her with rare gifts[4]. Sometimes the weighing ceremony took place in her palace[5].

Perhaps no people showed greater regard for their mothers than the Rajputs. The Rajput mother occupied an honoured and exalted position in society. She claimed a full share in the glory of her sons who, "imbibed at the maternal fount their first rudiments of chivalry, the importance of paternal instructions[6]". We can find no better illustration than to quote the ever recurring simile "make thy mother's milk resplendent". Rana Sangram Singh II of Mewar had made it a principle to pay his respects to his mother every morning before taking his meals. He would not go against the wishes of his mother, however unreasonable they might have been[7]. The call of the

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1 Muhammad is reported to have said. Women under Islam, p. 13.
2 Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 62. Also see Macauliffe I, 96.
3 *Ibid.* For another instance see R. & B., I, p. 78 ; For Babar's respect for his step grand-mother see A.N., I, 90 ; Tr. I, 231.
4 Ain., I, p. 256, etc.
5 See Chapter on festivals.
6 Tod, I, p. 642 quoted in Hindu Superiority, Ed. 1917, pp. 99.
7 Tod, I, p. 479.

mother to her sons was irresistible. Sixteen year old newly married Fatta who commanded the Chittor fort during the famous assault by Akbar put on the "saffron robe" at the command of his mother and he and his bride died fighting against heavy odds[1].

There are several recorded instances when ladies acted as mediators and successfully settled disputes. Khan Mirza was let off on the recommendation of Khanum[2]. Mubhib Ali was generously received at the court through the intervention of his wife, Nahib Begum[3]. Badaoni employed the services of the mother of Muqarrab Khan to settle his differences with the Khan[4]. Jahangir who had been for years in rebellion was forgiven by Akbar on the intercession of Salima Begum[5].

Her economic position

So far as property rights were concerned Muhammadan ladies were much better off than their Hindu sisters. A Muhammadan lady was entitled to a definite share in the inheritance[6] with absolute right to dispose of it. Unlike her Hindu sister she retained this right even after marriage. Another method adopted to safeguard the interests of Muslim ladies after marriage was *Mahr* or antenuptial settlement[7], whereas a Hindu

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1 Tod, I, p. 326.

2 A.N., I, 90-91 ; Tr., I, 232-33.

3 Badaoni, II, 136 ; Tr. II, 138.

4 *Ibid.* 87 ; Tr. II, 88.

5 Takmil-i-Akbarnama (E. & D.), VI, 108-09 ; K.K.I, 223-25.

6 "A daughter was absolutely assured of one-half a son's share of an inheritance. Under all conditions women received a half share." Purdah, p. 67.

7 Women under Islam, p. 27. "Of a deceased husband's property, the wife received 1/8 if there were children, 1/4 if there were none and with right to dispose of as she pleases." Purdah, p. 88.

lady had no right to the property of her husband's parents. A Hindu lady was entitled to maintenance and residence expenses[1] besides movable property like ornaments, jewellery, costly apparel, etc.[2] About the immovable property, Orme writes : "No property in land admits of disputes concerning them. The slavery to which the rights of parents and husband subject the female abolishes at once all fruits of dowries, divorce, jointures and settlements[3]". It appears that the constant seclusion brought about the social, political and intellectual stultification of women who could not exert themselves for their legitimate rights. From the legal standpoint they were reduced to a position of dependency in every sphere of life.

Indian women mostly confined themselves to household work. Those belonging to the agricultural and labouring classes helped their men folk on their home industries, agriculture, breeding of animals, spinning, weaving[4], tailoring, etc. Some of them engaged themselves in independent professions like medicine, midwifery, and the like. The women at Surat earned money by unknitting woollen and silken fabrics after their colour had faded off[5]. Some of them even kept shops[6]. Many took up dancing and singing as a profession[7]. Stavorinus writes : "Moors and Bengalese take great delight in having women dance before them who are kept for that purpose and are educated from their infancy in the pursuit of

1 The Position of Women by Menon, p. 25.

2 Altekar, p. 259. This is called '*Stri Dhan*'.

3 Orme's Fragments, p. 438.

4 "They would make veils called *frinis.*" Tavernier, Bk. II, p. 127. Maasir refers to a woman who used to make bracelets ; Maasir, I, 532.

5 *Ibid*, p. 132.

6 Badaoni, II, 301-02 ; Tr., II, 311.

7 Ain., III, p. 257; Malwa in Transition by Raghubir Sinh, p. 335.

this function[1]." They were extremely supple and were adepts in the art of dancing[2]. Muslim women usually liked to take up this profession, and some of the Hindu women were employed as musicians[3].

Prostitution was regarded as a disgrace though some of the meaner sort adopted it and lived in separate quarters, usually outside the city[4]. There were many who took to medicine and were freely employed as mid-wives. In fact there was a separate caste that followed this profession. They could be recognised by the "tufts of silk on their shoes or slippers, all others wearing plain[5]". The more educated among them adopted teaching as a regular profession. Manucci writes, "Among the (royal household) there are matrons who teach reading and writing to princesses[6]".

Her role in literature, Art and Administration

In spite of the *purdah* which obstructed high class ladies from participating in the social life of the nation, quite a large number of talented women made a mark in different spheres during the two centuries of Mughal rule in India. The women of the richer classes were well-educated and many of them were not only patrons of the learned but themselves were poetesses of distinction and authoresses of scholarly works[7]. Gulbadan Begum, the author of the Humayunnama and Jahanara, the biographer of Shibyah and Munisal Arwah, hold an enviable position among the literary figures of that age. Jan Begum, the daughter of Khan-i-Khanan, is said to

1 Stavorinus, I, p. 437.
2 Bernier, p. 274 ; Della Valle, I (Ed. Edward Grey), p. 71.
3 Storia, II, p. 337.
4 Stavorinus, I, p. 409.
5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 281.
6 Storia, II, pp. 330-31.
7 See Chapter on 'Education'.

have written a commentary on the *Quran*[1]. Mira Bai, Salima Sultana, Nur Jahan[2], Siti-un-Nisa, the tutoress of Jahanara and renowned as "the princess of poets" and Zeb-un-Nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, were poetesses of distinction. Ramabhadramba, the author of Raghunatha-bhyudaya, Madhuravani, translator in verse of the Andhra-Ramayana and Tirumalamba, author of Varadambika-parinaya are well-known Sanskrit poetesses of the period[3]. In Maharashtra Aka Bai and Kena Bai, disciples of Ramdas Swami, were considered important literary figures in the 17th century.

In the administrative sphere, too, they did not lag behind. Some of the greatest women administrators of all ages belong to this period. Maham Anaga, the chief nurse of Akbar, controlled the affairs of the state for full four years (1560-64)[4] by sheer audacity and cleverness. Rani Durgavati, the Chandel princess of Gondwana, "famous for her beauty and accomplishments[5]" governed her country with great courage and capacity[6]. Her country was better administered and more prosperous than that of Akbar the Great[7]. Chand Bibi's[8] name shines brilliantly in the annals of Ahmedanagar, and Makhduma-o-Jahan ruled the Deccan very ably as a regent on behalf of Nizam Shah of the Bahmani

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1 Akbar rewarded her 50,000 *dinars* for her work.

2 For specimen see K. K. I, pp. 270-271.

3 History of Sanskrit Literature by Das-Gupta and S. K. De, pp. 417-18.

4 A. N., II, 100 ; Tr. II, 151.

5 Badaoni II, 66 ; Tr. II, p 65. E. & D., V, pp. 169, 288. The Spirit of Indian Civilization by D. N. Roy, p. 161.

6 According to Abul Fazl, "She distinguished for courage, counsel and magnificence." A. N., II, 209 and 214 ; Tr. II, 224 and 230.

7 Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, pp. 69-70.

8 Queen Dowager of Bijapur, sister of Burhan-ul-Mulk of Ahmednagar. Ferishta, III, p. 312.

family[1]. Sahib Ji, the daughter of Ali Mardan, was a wonderfully clever and able lady. She was the actual governor of Kabul during her husband's viceroyality. She displayed her great administrative qualities after the death of her husband by ruling over the turbulent Afghans without allowing any serious opposition[2]. Nur Jahan, 'the light of the world', was the real power behind the Jahangiri throne. So supreme was her sway over the emperor who had for all practical purposes sold the empire for "a bottle of wine and a piece of meat" that even the proudest peers of the realm paid their homage to her, knowing full well that a word from her would make or mar their career. "When in power she ruled everything, when out of power she abstained religiously from all active life," such was her nature.

The Maratha king Raja Ram's widow Tarabai Mohite, as regent for her son Shivaji II, a boy under 10 years, became the supreme guiding force in Maharashtra[3]. She displayed such marvellous capacity and administrative ability in encountering the Mughal onslaught that threatened to engulf the Maratha state that all the efforts of the Emperor Aurangzeb failed miserably. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar has observed, "Her administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in that awful crisis."

Indian women belonging to royal and noble families, particularly the Rajputanis, were trained as soldiers and often displayed great bravery, courage and heroism. We have already referred to the part

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1 Outlines of Islamic Culture by A. M. A. Shushtery, Vol. II, Appendix A, p. 771.

2 Studies in Mughal India, pp. 114-117.

3 K. K., II, 469, 516 ; Sarkar, Aurangzeb, pp 199-201 ; History of the Mahrattas by James Grant Duff, Vol. I, pp. 323-24.

played by Fatta's mother in the defence of Chittor[1]. The valiant Durgavati was India's Joan of Arc. She fought and won many a battle against Baz Bahadur and the Minas[2]. Her end was no less noble. Seated on an fiery elephant, clothed in armour and a steel helmet on her head, she calmly yet resolutely directed her army against Akbar's hordes with utmost zeal and ability. When despaired of victory she said, "It is true we are overcome in war but shall we be ever vanquished in honour[3]" and stabbed herself to death[4]. Chand Bibi, a famous Muslim heroine, personally defended the fort of Ahmednagar against the mighty forces of Akbar[5]. Nurjahan gave ample proof of her martial capabilities in leading an attack against Mahabat Khan[6]. Such examples can be multiplied. But these are enough to show that mediaeval Indian ladies could defend themselves and their country[7].

High character of Hindu women

The chastity of Hindu women was proverbial. Several travellers on different occasions have made a special mention of the high character of Hindu ladies. Thevenot presents it as an example to all the women of the East[8]. Akbar, too, held a high opinion of the chastity of the Hindu women, who, in spite of being sometimes neglected, "are flaming torches of love and fellowship[9]." Jahangir, too, admires the chastity of Hindu ladies who would not allow "the hand of any unlawful person touch the skirt of their chastity

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1 Tod, Vol. I, p. 381.
2 A. N., II, p. 325 ; Smith's Akbar, pp. 69-70.
3 Ferishta, II, p. 218.
4 Tarikh-i-Alfi, E. & D., V, p. 169.
5 Ferishta, III, p. 312.
6 Iqbalnama, pp. 262-63 (E. and D.), VI, pp. 425-26.
7 R. and B., II, p. 268.
8 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. XXIV, p. 47.
9 A.N. III, 256 ; Tr. III 372.

and would perish in flames.[1]" Adultery and other immoral practices were rare among both sexes[2]. Tavernier writes: "Adultery is very rare among them and as for sodomy I never heard it mentioned[3]." Death was the usual punishment for those who indulged in such vices[4]. Sometimes the guilty were deprived of their noses[5]. Ovington rebukes husbands for keeping a strict watch over their wives in spite of the latter's unfailing modesty[6]. "If anyone looked at them deliberately in the bazar or even while they stood at their doors, they resented it as an high affront and uttered "*Dekh na mar*" (Look here and don't you die), so writes Grose[7].

Death had no terror for these heroic ladies when their honour was at stake. It was certainly less dreadful than dishonour and captivity. With patriotic pride and songs of their country's glory on their lips, they would desperately resort to *Jauhar* when despaired of victory. "*Jauhar*, according to Hindu custom," so writes Jahangir, "is the fire of fame and chastity, so that the hand of no unlawful person should touch the skirt of their chastity[8]." Such was the ideal of India's womanhood during the Mughal age.

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1 R. and B., II, p. 268.
2 Stavorinus, II, p. 487.
3 Tavernier, III, p. 181.
4 Stavorinus, II, p. 497.
5 Mandelslo, p. 95.
6 Ovington, p. 211.
7 Grose, I, p. 240.
8 Tod, I, p. 363.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION

"Education", in the words of a modern Indologist, "is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher (Rabindra Nath Tagore) of the present day, there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars[1]."

Primary education

Primary schools, in the modern sense of the word, probably did not exist in ancient India. But the teaching system, whatever it might have been, received a great impetus after the establishment of the Buddhist monasteries. *Tols* or schools attached to temples, Hindu or Buddhist, and maintained by grants or endowments made for that specific purpose came into prominence. These continued to exist even up to the 19th century in Bengal, Bihar and the Panjab[2], and most probably in other parts of the country also. Mandelslo writes in the 17th century: "Brahmins have also the over-sight of schools where they teach children to read and write[3]".

These were mostly private schools. Students and scholars resorted to these teachers who establish-

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1 The History and Prospect of British Education in India (1891), p. 1.

2 For education in ancient times refer to S.K. Dass's Educational System of Ancient Hindus ; Dr. A.S. Altekar's Education in Ancient India ; S. V. Venkateswara Indian Culture through the Ages. Tols were formed in centres containing a considerable high caste population and pandits gave instructions in Sanskrit, grammar and logic. Also see Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 12, p. 167.

3 B.N., p. 613.

ed schools at their own expense, but solicited contributions not only to raise the building but also to feed their pupils. Usually made of clay, these schools consisted of three rooms and sometimes 8 or 10 in two rows with a reading room open on all sides at the farther end.

Hindus would introduce their children to regular education by a formal ceremony called *upanayana*, the normal age for which differed for various castes and for different ideals and aims[1]. The capacity and aptitude of the boy were also taken into consideration. However, generally speaking, a Hindu child had his first lessons at about the age of five either from his father at home or from a teacher at school[2]. The Mughals, too, would send their children to school before they were five years of age. The *Maktab* ceremony was usually performed when a child was four years four months and four days old[3], usually after circumcision. Both Hindus and Muslims put their children to school at an auspicious hour after consulting the astrologer[4].

It was essential for people of the service class to educate their sons in the court language. The brokers, bankers, and merchants sent their children to school to enable them to grasp the fundamentals of elementary arithmetic which were of importance to them in their daily transactions.

1 According to Apastamba, "The age of *upanayana* is to be 7 when the objective is *Brahmavarchasa*, 8 where it is *Ayu*, 9 where it is *Teja* or physical vigour, 10 where it is vital force and 12 where it is increase of livestock." Manu is nearer the truth when he fixes the age of five for a Brahaman student whose aim is *Brahmavarchasa*.

2 Guru Nanak was sent to school at the age of seven. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 136. Padumavat began her studies at the age of five. Padumavat, Trans., Grierson, p. 26.

3 A. N., I, 518 ; III, 105-06, 922, 1122 ; Badaoni. II, 173. E & D., V, p. 370.

4 Abul Fazl writes, "Humayun fixed an auspicious hour for the initiation of Akbar's instruction after consulting the renowned astrologers of the day." A. N., I, 271-72 ; Tr. I, 519.

Muhammadans, on the other hand, were less enthusiastic about the education of their sons. The views of a 17th century traveller[1] that Muslims, either employed on high government posts or big businessmen, are "proud, scorn to be taught, jealous of the baseness of mankind durst not trust their children under tuition and that they were by nature slothful and would seldom take pains" seems to be an exaggeration, whereas Mandelslo's contention that Muslims took special interest to educate their sons as soon as they reached the school-going age appears to be true only in case of the highly placed class of Muslim nobles[2], who could also afford to keep a good many Hindu accountants to look after their business and estates[3]. The latter class would not necessarily send their children to schools, but usually employed tutors to teach them at home[4]. But so far as the common Muhammadan was concerned the fact remains that he was reluctant to attend to his studies and preferred to be trained in the art of warfare and to be enlisted in the imperial army[5] where he could hope for a bright future.

Pathshalas and *maktabs* were the primary institutions which a beginner attended. He would receive his first lesson there in the alphabet from a *pandit* or a *moulvi*. *Maktabs* were a very common sight during the Mughal period. Cities and towns and certain villages swarmed with them. Della Valle probably refers to them when he writes that in Jahangir's time there were private schools in every town and village[6].

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1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 312.

2 Mandelslo, p. 62.

3 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 312.

4 Bernier, p. 228 ; Manuel Godino in J.R.A.S.B., Vol. IV, Letters 1938, Art No. 23, p. 546.

5 Mandelslo, p. 62.

6 Account of Sadiq confirmed by Della Valle edited Edward Grey, II, pp. 227-28.

There was no printed primer, but the children were made to write the letters of the alphabet and figures on wooden boards or on the dust of the ground with their fingers[1]. Usually the pupils assembled under the shade of a tree where they arranged themselves in rows on the ground, and their master attended them standing or sitting on a mat or deer-skin[2]. Combined letters were practised later and difficult words selected from a standard book, usually the Quran, were dictated. Thus they perfected their spelling and were also made to understand the meanings of the words they wrote. Great importance was given to calligraphy and students were instructed to imitate and practise the style of the best calligraphists of the day[3].

As soon as the boys could read and write[4], grammar, followed by the text of the Quran, was invariably introduced in every *maktab*[5]. Every child had to learn it by rote[6]. Most of the boys could read even if they did not understand the text[7]. No evidence is available about the nature of religious instructions given to the Hindu children in the *pathshalas*[8]. Growse, however, thinks that the

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1 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 312.

2 Bartolomeo, p. 263.

3 Dara Shukoh, p. 5. Imperial Gaz. II, pp. 408-09.

4 Bartolomeo, p. 263. "Grammar was regarded as a channel for opening the highest gateway of culture including the study of human life and of the mysteries of existence." Indian Culture Through the Ages by S.V. Venkateswara, p. 235.

5 Badaoni III, 28; Tr. III, p. 48. *Ibid.* II, Tr. II, 173; Dara Shukoh by Dr. K.R. Qanungo, p. 5.

6 Humayun Badshah, I, p. 4.

7 Hedges' Dictionary of Islam, p 106.

8 According to Bartolomeo the method of teaching in schools was as follows : "The children were first taught the principles of writing and accompts, (ii) Sanskrit Grammar also called *Saraswada* or the art of speech with elegance (iii) The second part of this grammar which contains syntax or the book *Vyakarana* (iv) is Brahmanic dictionary called Amarasinha followed by shalokas, etc. Then comes detailed and specialised study of various sciences as astrology, medicine, poetry, logic, etc." Bartolomeo, pp. 262-63.

Ramayana formed the chief text in the primary schools[1]. But as the *Ramayana* was put in Hindi garb by Tulsi Das at the end of Akbar's reign, that could not obviously have been a text-book till the end of the 16th century. According to Bernier, the *Puranas* were taken up after learning the alphabet[2]. Malik Muhammad Jayasi corroborates it in his Padumavat[3]. The teaching of elementary mathematics also went side by side with literacy. The Hindus were particularly proficient in it. There was and still is in vogue among us an interesting and useful way of committing to memory the multiple tables called "*Pahara*" which is practised in a class or among a group of class fellows. A boy sung his lesson "*Ek Duna Duna, Do Dunai Char*", that is, one time two makes two and two times two make four. The others repeated it jointly and wrote after him in the like manner[4]. After finishing the Quran, Muslim students took lessons in the *Gulistan, the Bostan* and poems of Firdausi[5]. Sanskrit scholars, on the other hand, studied the *Puranas, Upanishads* and *Shastras* and sometimes the *Vedas*[6].

There were three kinds of schools ; in the first, grammar, poetry as well as the *Puranas* and the *Smritis* were studied, in the second, the law and the *Puranas* and in the third, *Naya Darshan* or logic were taught. At Banaras there were in existence

1 See his remarks about the early education in the Prologue to the Ramayana of Tulsi Das by F.S. Growse in A.S.B. 1876, pt. I, pp. 22-23.

2 Bernier (1891), p. 335.

3 Padumavat Trans. Grierson, p. 26.

4 Della Valle quoted in Wheeler's History of India, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 486. Babar praises the Hindu manner of reckoning and writes, "They have a very clear mode of calculation. They call a hundred thousand a *lakh*, a hundred *lakhs* a *crore*, a hundred *crore* an arb............" B. N. Caldecott, pp. 188-89.

5 Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi—E. & D. IV, p. 311.

6 Bernier (1891), pp. 335-36.

different colleges for specialization in different subjects such as the Vedas, grammar, poetry, vedanta, logic, law and astronomy[1].

It appears that classes were held twice a day, in the morning and evening. Some interval was allowed in between for meals. Abdul-i-Haqq informs us that his house was two miles from the school and he used "to go twice a day to college, morning and evening, during the heat of one season and the cold of another, returning for a short time for a meal to his own house[2]."

The average number of pupils with each teacher was usually four or five but it seldom exceeded the maximum of fifteen. A teacher was usually helped by his senior pupils who acted as assistant masters[3].

No fee was paid, as to give and receive instruction is enjoined by the sacred books of the Brahamans. The *Saura Purana* condemns a teacher who teaches for money. Manu also declares him to be guilty of a sin[4]. The tradition continued during the Mughal age. "Hindus," writes Marshall, "never teach their children for money ; those they teach they give (them) victuals, too, besides their learning which is esteemed as a gift[5]." The teacher, naturally, had to look to the rich, the nobles and

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1 Leitner : History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, p. 1 ; William Ward : A view of the Hindus, II, 483 ff.

2 E. & D. VI, pp. 176-77.

3 'Sahabia' by Jahanara Begum article in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August 1937, Vol. XIII, No. 4, p. 11.

4 Ancient Indian Education by R. K. Mookerji, p. 202.

5 John Marshall in India, p. 386. According to Mr. Bartolomeo, a traveller to the Indies in the 18th century, "A school-master in Malabar receives every two months from each of his pupils for the instruction given them two *Fanon* or *Panam*. Some do not pay in money but give him a certain quantity of rice......... There are some teachers who instruct children without any fee and are paid by the overseers of the temples or by the chief of the caste", Bartolomeo, pp. 261-62.

merchants for his subsistence, which was gladly made available.

The teacher was received with the utmost respect by his pupils who would humbly touch his feet and speak respectfully and only with his permission. If some one misbehaved, he was sure to be expelled from the school. "By these means," writes Bartolomeo, "the preceptor always receives that respect which is due to him, the pupils are obedient and seldom offend against rules which are so carefully inculcated[1]." Students were punished for their faults. Hindu law and custom did not allow severe punishment or torture. Negligence in doing the day's work, wilful mischief and bad manners were punished by detention after school hours or by ordering the delinquent student to write a lesson ten or fifteen times or by mild physical punishment like a slap on the face, boxing the ears, or making him sit on the tips of his toes and hold his ears with his hands from under his thighs[2].

The relations between the class-fellows and even school-fellows were very friendly. They would hold their class-mates in high esteem even when old and thought it a privilege to be of any service to them[3]. The teachers who could lecture without the help of notes or books were very much respected and remembered for generations. Badaoni is full of praise for Mian Shaikh Abdullah of Badaon whom, "I never saw in the course of his teaching to be under the necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtleties,

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1 Bartolomeo, p. 263.

2 See painting No. 3 in N. N. Law's Promotion of Learning in India. It shows Haqiqat Rai in the above-mentioned posture. See also Imperial Gazetteer, II, pp. 408-09.

3 Mirza Husain once saved the life of Ferishta respecting the latter's claims as a school fellow. Storey, II, Fasc., III, pp. 443-44. Ferishta, Bombay Edition, II, p. 288.

for whatever he had once seen he had on the tip of his tongue[1]." The promptness in solving knotty problems and ready wit in answering complicated questions was considered another qualification[2].

Higher seats of Hindu learning

A university came into existence where a number of colleges were established (usually in a town of special sanctity). Banaras and Nadia are the examples. Bernier writes, "Banaras is a kind of university, but it has no college or regular classes as in our universities, but it resembles, rather the school of ancients, the masters being spread over different parts of the town in private houses[3]." Other university towns were of the same type.

The chief centres of learning or universities, if we may call them so, were at places where the renowned scholars had made their homes. Muslims invariably liked capitals, provincial or imperial, whereas Hindus preferred shrines and sacred places where pilgrim traffic supplied a subsidiary source of income to the famous teachers residing there. Thus free from the worries of making a livelihood, they pursued their studies undisturbed. Banaras, Nadia, Mithila, Tirhut, Paithan, Karhad, Thatta, Multan, Sirhind, etc., were the famous seats of Hindu learning.

Banaras

Banaras as a pre-eminent centre of learning in the East suffered considerably for three centuries

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1 Badaoni, III, 56 ; Tr., III, 93.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Bernier, (1891), p. 341. Classes were held in these private houses particularly in the gardens which the rich merchants and philanthropists had endowed upon Brahamans, the greatest repository of knowledge and learning among Hindus. Badaoni, II, [illegible] ., II, 264.

(1200-1500) when the crescent banner was first planted on this fair land of ours. Fearing religious persecution many of the learned families sought shelter in safer places. However, a new era dawned with the advent of the Mughals. We find once again, "the lamp of Sanskrit burning luminously at Banaras from the 16th century." It began once more to draw scholars from the remotest corners of India[1]. Several learned families shifted again to this place[2]. *Dharma Dhikari*, *Sese*, *Bhatta* and *Mouni* were the families which figured prominently for more than three centuries (1500-1800). Kabir and Tulsi Das carried on their literary activities at Banaras, and Guru Nanak and Chaitanya paid visits to this holiest of Hindu shrines. Raja Jai Singh founded there a college for the education of the princes[3]. There were other seminaries[4] where renowned pandits interpreted and expounded the fundamentals of Hindu religion and philosophy[5].

Nadiā

Nadia in Bengal was, after Banaras, the greatest centre of Hindu learning in the country during the Mughal days. Students from all parts of the country gathered at Nadia. This grand old university which rose to importance after the destruction of the

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1 History of Banaras by Dr. A. S. Altekar, pp. 39-41. Nanda Pandit, the author of *Dattaka-mimamsa* (1570-1630), and Khanderaya, the author of *Parasurama-Prakasa* both belonged to *Dharmadhikari* family. Sankarbhatta, author of *Davitanernya Vratamaynkha*, and *Gādhivamsanucarita Kavya* and many other famous works, Gagabhatta who was invited by Shivaji to Raigad on the occasion of coronation was the author of more than half a dozen works on *Mimamsa-Sisavishnu* besides a commentary on Mahabharata and Chintamani, the author of several works as *Rasamanjari-parimala* belonged to *Sesa* family. Bhatta family's Bhatta Narayana, author of *Prayoga-ratna* and many other works belongs to this period. *Ibid.*

2 Ain, II, pp. 158-59 ; Tavernier, p. 160.

3 Bernier (1891), pp. 341-42, also f.n.

4 Hamilton, II, pp. 22-23.

5 *Ibid.*

Buddhist universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila gave Brahmanical learning an opportunity to renew its work on new foundations during Muslim rule (1198-1757). It rightly boasted of its three branches at Navadvipa, Santipura, and Gopalpara. In Navadvipa alone there were 100 students and not less than 150 teachers. The number rose to 4,000 pupils and six hundred teachers in 1680[1]. Vasudeva Sarvabhauma (1450-1525), the great scholar of the 16th century, was the founder of the famous Nadia school of Nyaya which even outrivalled Mithila when its first student Raghunatha defeated in argument the head of the Logic Department at Mithila. Raghunatha Siromani was also the founder of a school of logic which produced many scholars of repute. Among them Mathuranatha (A.D. 1570), the author of many works on logic, known by the general name *Mathuri*, Ramabhadra, himself the founder of a school, and Gadadhara Bhatacharya (A.D. 1650), "the prince of Indian logicians" and the author of a special literature "Gadadhari", all deserve mention. Raghunandana created a chair of *Smriti* in the 16th century alongwith the Chair of Logic at Nadia. The Chair of Astronomy was added in 1718 by Ramarudra Vidyanidhi[2]. Godavari, too, has been mentioned as a centre of Hindu learning[3].

Mithila

Mithila's reputation as a centre of learning dates back to the times of *Upanishads*. It retained its importance throughout and made notable contributions in the realm of difficult and scientific subjects. Even during the Mughal days, it used to draw

1 Calcutta Monthly for 1791. See also History of Navya, by Manmohan Chakravarti and Satis Chandra Vidyabhushanana's History of Indian Logic.

2 Ancient Indian Education by R.K. Mookerji, pp. 598-601.

3 J. U. P., Hist. Soc., December 1943, Art. on "History of. Raghunatha Mahadeva Ghati" by P.K. Gode, p. 76, and f. n. p. 78.

students from all parts of the country for specialised study in logic. Raghunandandasa Rai, a pupil of this college, performed intellectual *dig-vijaya* at the instance of Akbar. The Emperor was so much pleased with him that he gave him the whole town of Mithila as a gift. The obedient pupil in turn offered it to his teacher, Mahesa Thakkura[1].

Other Centres of Learning

Tirhut[2] was a famous centre of Hindu learning, and Gokaranhad was a great university of the Brahmans[3]. Thatta was no less important and, according to Hamilton, there were about 400 colleges there. Theology, philology and politics were some of the special courses of study there[4]. Another big centre was Multan where Hindus had established several schools[5]. Students crowded Multan from all parts of India to study and specialise in difficult sciences like astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, etc., of which the Brahmans had complete mastery[6]. Sirhind had the distinction of having a very famous school of medicine, most probably *ayurvedic*. It was the main centre which supplied doctors to the whole empire[7].

Higher Seats of Muslim Learning

Madrasahs were secondary schools or colleges for higher learning. Sometimes they were attached

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1 History of Mithila by Manmohan Chakravarti and also see History of Navya Nyaya.

2 Ain., II, pp. 152-53.

3 In Goa probably. Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 384.

4 Hamilton, I, p. 127.

5 M. A. of Saqi. E. & D., VII, p. 184.

6 M. A. of Saqi. E. & D., VII, p. 184.

7 Monserrate, p. 102. For universities in Ancient India with special reference to ayurvedic studies, see J. U. P. Historical Society, July 1942, Vol. XV, Pt. I, pp. 12-43. Article by Radha Kumud Mookerji.

to a chief mosque of the city[1]. No exact information can be had of the actual number of *madrasahs* at these places. Few and scattered references are to be found here and there in the biographies of the learned employed in teaching. Jahangir is said to have repaired even those *madrasahs* that had been in ruins for thirty years[2]. He issued a regulation that all property "not legitimately claimed on the death of a rich man would escheat to the crown to be used for building and repairing *madrasahs*".

Agra

Muslim divines and scholars, unlike Hindu pandits, chose for their permanent dwellings the big cities where they could easily find suitable jobs, admirers, followers and pupils. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Sialkot, Ahmedabad, etc., attracted their attention and became main centres of Muslim learning.

Agra enjoyed a pre-eminent position as an educational centre throughout the Mughal period. Many colleges of Islamic learning were established there by the Mughal emperors[3], nobles and learned scholars, such as Maulana Ala-ud-Din Lari[4], Qazi Jalal-ud-Din of Multan[5], Shaikh Abul Fath of Thaneswar, Sayyid Rafi-ud-Din Safawi[6], Mir Kalan

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1 Al Minhaj, p. 3.

2 Jan Jahan Khan MS in A.S.B. quoted in N.N. Law, p. 175.

3 For Akbar's college at Agra see Keay's Ancient Indian Education, p. 119. For Shahjahan's college see Asar-us-Sanadid by Sir Sayyid, p. 69. It appears Shahjahan only repaired the old college of Akbar.

4 His school was known as Madrasah-i-Khas. Badaoni, II, 55-56 ; Tr. II, 53.

5 He was a well-known teacher. Badaoni III, 78 ; Tr., III, 124.

6 According to Badaoni a school was founded after his name. Badaoni, III, 129 ; Tr., III, 181.

Hariwi[1], and others. A large number of advanced scholars used to gather to take lessons from Sayyid Shah Mir of Samana who had his dwelling on the other side of the river Jamuna. His hospice assumed the appearance of a big college[2]. Mirza Muflis, the Uzbeg, taught for four years in the Jami Masjid of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Farrukhabadi in Agra[3]. Petermundy mentions that there was a college for Jesuits at Agra[4].

Delhi

Delhi, the imperial seat of a long line of ruling dynasties, was an older educational centre. It kept up its tradition during the Mughal regime and many new institutions were founded there[5]. On the bank of the Jamuna, Humayun built a school in honour of Zain-ud-Din Khafi[6]. Maham Anaga, too, established a *madrasah*, called Khair-ul-Manzil[7],

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1 T. A., II, Trans. B. De., pp. 694-95. Sayyid Ahmad in his Tarikh-i-Agra mentions a Madrasah-i-Shahi of which no trace remains except a masjid called Masjid-i-Shahi. Tarikh-i-Agra by Sayyid Ahmad, p. 120.

2 Badaoni, III, 119 ; Tr., III, 174-75.

3 *Ibid.* 156-57 ; Tr., III, p. 218.

4 Petermundy, II, p. 208.

5 Khwaja Muin was the founder of a *madrasah* where Mirza Muflis used to teach. T.A., II, (trans.), p. 686. For reference to another college see Badaoni, III, 130 ; Tr., III, 188. Shahjahan also founded an imperial college at Delhi. Carr Stephen's Archaeological Remains of Delhi, p. 255.

6 Badaoni, I, 471 ; Tr., I, 471 ; Maulana Ismail was a teacher there ; Ain., I, p. 607.

7 It bears an inscription ending with

ولی شد ساعی این نفعه خیر شهاب‌الدین احمد خان باذل
زهے خریت این منزل خیر که شد تاریخ او خیر المنازل

For a photo of her *madrasah* see Promotion of Learning in India, p. 166. Also see the Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi by Carr Stephen (1876), p. 199. Banerji has refused Brown's view that the *madrasah* was intended for girls. According to him, the Muslim girls in medieval times did not move outside the house. The walls were erected to let the students continue their studies undisturbed by external noise. S. K. Banerji's article entitled "The Historical Remains of Early years of Akbar's Reign", in the U.P. Historical Society, December 1942, Vol. XV, Pt. II.

or Madrasah-i-Begam[1]. It was a residential *madrasah*, students resided there in the rooms of both the storeys, and the classes were held in the hall. Shaikh Abdulla of Talna's residence a little before our period was a famous resort of students. Hundreds of students gathered from distant places to take lessons from him. He could count some forty distinguished scholars among his pupils, including Mian Ladan and Jamal Khan of Delhi, Mian Shaikh of Gwalior, and Mian Sayyid Jalal of Badaon.[2]

Lahore

Lahore[3] was not such an extensive centre of learning as Delhi or Agra. However, it supplied teachers to a few colleges in other parts of India. Among the notables there Maulana Jalal of Tala and Mulla Imamuddin[4] may be particularly mentioned. Lahore's importance as an educational centre dates from the time of Aurangzeb when the reputation of its scholars "attracted many a pupil from far and wide[5]."

Jaunpur and Gujrat

Jaunpur and Gujarat were two other centres where learned scholars had taken up their residence. Jaunpur, rightly called the *Shiraz of India*, came into prominence during the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi (1402-40) when it came to have several colleges and mosques. It retained its importance throughout the Mughal period. Scholars from far and wide came to study there. Mughal emperors up to the time of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) took keen interest in the progress of the institutions and

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1 Badaoni, II, 60 ; Tr., II, 62.

2 Badaoni, I, 324 ; Tr., I, 427 ; III, 77, 111 ; Tr., III, 124 and 165.

3 See Badaoni, III (Trans. Haig) Index page 534 and Tabqat under Lahore.

4 T.A., II, p. 696. (Translation).

5 Storia, II, p. 424. "Hindustan Ki Qadim Islami" by Maulvi Abul Hasan Nadvi, pp. 40-42.

exhorted the teachers not to relax in their scholarly efforts. Regular reports were asked for and enquiries made before making grants to them[1]. According to Mukundram, *maktabs* were set up in Gujarat where young Muhammadans were given instructions by pious *maulvis*[2], such as Mian Wajih-ud-Din, Shaikh Gadai Dehlvi, the renowned scholar of Humayun's reign, who used to teach logic and philosophy to scholars that came from distant parts of India and abroad[3]. The *Madrasah 'Faiz Safa'* was founded in Naharwara Pattan in Gujarat in 1092 A.H. It was attached to a mosque. Burhan Nizam Shah I built a college called "*Langar-i-Duwazda Imam*", at Ahmedabad for imparting Shia learning. He imported deeply learned men from Iraq, Arabia, Persia and upper India to teach in this college[5]. Akram-ud-Din also built there a magnificent college in 1697 A.D. at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,24,000.

Kashmir

Kashmir, with its pleasant and refreshing climate, was a good centre of learning. Some rich scholars resorted to that valley to write their works in that cool and calm atmosphere[6]. Mulla Shah Badakhashi, a spiritual teacher of Jahanara, the eldest daughter of Shahjahan, took his early lessons in Kashmir[7]. Mirza Abu Talib Kalim went to

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1 Tazkirat-ul-Ulema, MS, in A.S.B. leaf 310 quoted in N.N. Law, p. 103, Faruki's Aurangzeb, 312.

2 Bengal in the 16th century, p. 91.

3 Ghani, II, pp. 38-39.

4 Now it is called Bara Imam ka Kotla.

5 Bulletin of Deccan College of Research Institute, Vol. II, June 1941, p. 383; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I, p. 363.

6 History of Shahjahan by Saksena, p. 248. According to the same author, Kalim and Qudsi took residence there to versify Padshahnama. Mulla Fani belonged to Kashmir, and Khwaja Khudavand Muhammad settled in that very province.

7 Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August 1937, Vol. III, No. 4.

Kashmir to complete his work on the poetical records[1] of the reign of Shahjahan.

Other Centres of Islamic Learning

There were various other centres of learning and education. Akbar built colleges at Fatehpur Sikri[2]. The grammarian Shaikh Sadullah's hospice in Bayana became a famous resort of students and religious men[3]. Aurangzeb confiscated from the Dutch the building called *Farhangi Mahal*" in Lucknow, allotted it to an "ulema family" and so the Farhangi Mahal Madrasah was founded[4]. Sher Shah's *madrasah* at Narnaul established in 1520 A.D. may also be mentioned[5]. Hamilton saw schools at Madras of the English, the Portuguese, the Hindus and the Muhammadans where "were taught their respective languages[6]." To other centres of learning Gwalior[7], Sialkot[8], Ambala and Thaneswar may also be added.

Mixed Schools

There is some evidence to show that here and there some Muslim students attended the schools kept by Hindu teachers for instruction in subjects like astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, etc[9]. Till the time of Akbar, it seems, Hindus did not like to attend Muslim *madrasahs*. But when Persian became the court language in the time of

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1 Storey, II, Fasc. III, p. 572.

2 A.N., II, 365 ; Tr., II, 531.

3 Badaoni, III, 108; Tr., III, 160.

4 Al Minhaj, p. 67.

5 *Ibid*, p. 52.

6 Hamilton (ed. MXCC XXVII), I, pp 365-66.

7 During Akbar's time Muhammad Gaus Gwaliori built a monastery there and "busied himself completely in instructing his students." Badaoni, III, p. 103. (Trans).

8 Sarkar's India of Aurangzeb, p. 98.

9 Alamgirnama-Saqi, p. 189. E. and D., VII, p. 184.

that monarch Hindus had to attend Muslim institutions to learn Persian.

Duration of Courses, Tests and Certificates

The courses of study usually varied from ten to twelve years for graduation[1]. Some more years were required for a doctorate after studying under a renowned scholar. Waman Pandit of Satara after getting some education from his father went to Banaras at the age of 18 to study Sanskrit and remained there for not less than twelve years and then returned home[2], having completed his education in all the departments of knowledge[3]. Sunder Das, the renowned Hindu poet of the 17th century, remained engaged in his studies at Banaras till he had attained the age of thirty[4]. Sayyid Abdullah, the author of Tazkirah-i-Shushtar, was a brilliant exception. He is said to have completed his full course of study at the age of fifteen, then travelled to Isfahan, Azarbaijan and other parts of Persia and Turkey[5].

No regular annual examinations were held in those days. A good mastery of certain specified courses of which the teacher was the sole judge was sufficient for promotion to the next standard. Thus it was not unnatural or surprising to see a boy promoted to the next class within six months of his joining. An unusual type of examination called *Salakapariksha* to judge the capacity of the pupil marked the termination of the graduation course in,

1 Bernier (1891), p. 334. The period of studentship was normally fixed at 12 years. See also R.K. Mookerji's Ancient Indian Education p. 92.

2 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institute, Vol. IV, pp. 305-06.

3 *Ibid.* He was born in the second half of the 17th century.

4 Hindi Sabad Sagar, Vol. I, p. 79. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 166.

5 Tazkirah-i-Shushtar, p. VIII.

Mithila. A candidate was expected to explain correctly that page of the manuscript which was pierced last by a needle run through it[1]. No regular degrees were awarded. To have studied in a reputed institution or under a renowned teacher was the greatest qualification one could have. I have come across some instances of diplomas awarded or certificates issued by the great scholars of theology to their pupils after successful termination of their courses, which conferred upon the latter the authority to give instructions therein. Shaikh-ul-Hidya of Khairabad held a diploma from his tutor Shaikh Safi, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sai'd, authorising him to give instructions[2]. Shaikh Yaqub received from Ibn-u-Haja a licence to give instructions in the traditions of Muhammad[3]. Sayyid Yasin who studied the traditions in Hijaz received the authority to give instructions thereon[4].

Some sort of a certificate or diploma was also awarded in certain Hindu institutions. Graduates from the university of Mithila were allowed only to leave with their diplomas, but not with any manuscript. Raghunatha, a student of the Nadia university, was deputed to "exact from Mithila a charter to confer degrees." *Chhurika Bandhanam* resembles our present-day convocation. The occasion meant the tying of a dagger to the dress of the pupil as a token of his graduation[5]. Sometimes a title was conferred on a distinguished pupil. The great scholar Vasudeva after the completion of his course at Nadia was honoured by the title of *Sarvabhauma*

1 Ancient Indian Education, p. 598. See History of Navya Nayaya and History of Mithila by Man Mohan Chakravarti.

2 Badaoni, III, 27; Tr., III, 45.

3 *Ibid*, 142; Tr., III, 200.

4 *Ibid*, 119; Tr., III, 176.

5 Education in Ancient India by Dr. Altekar, pp. 292-93.

in "recognition of his supreme merit[1]." *Peeyusha-varsha, Pakshadhara* and *Akbariya Kalidasa* were also the titles conferred on Sanskrit scholars. Jayadeva who was deeply learned in *Sutras* and *Sastras* was honoured by the former titles[2]. Sri Hari, who flourished during the reign of Akbar, received the title of *Akbariya Kalidasa*. Rambhadra, a sound grammarian, was known among his friends as *Pratvagra Patanjali*[3]. Raghunatha, who had completed the studies of "*Vedyatan*", earned the title of "*Sandak Vitu*[4]."

Scholarship Judged by one's Teacher's Reputation

After graduation the students who desired to go in for higher studies would spend some years under a renowned scholar to specialise in certain specific branches. Muslims invariably studied theology. It was not an easy affair to get oneself admitted for post-collegiate studies, as the teachers were reluctant to have more than a limited number of tudents and selection had to be made. Mulla Shah Badakhashi refused to take Jahanara Begum as his pupil. It was only after several efforts that her request was granted[5]. Maulana Usman of Samana was a pupil of Hakim-ul-Mulk[6], while the historian Badaoni studied under Maulana Mirza of Samarkand[7]. Nizam-ud-din, the author of the Tabqat-i-Akbari, studied under Mulla Ali Sher[8]. Shaikh Yaqub of Kashmir obtained higher knowledge under

1 Ancient Indian Education, pp. 599-601.

2 History of Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishanamacharya, p. 109.

3 History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 110.

4 J.U.P. Hist. Soc., Dec. 1943, Art. on History of Raghunatha Mahadeva Ghati by P. K. Gode, M.A., p. 78.

5 Oriental College Magazine Lahore, August 1937, Vol. XIII, No. 4, p. 8.

6 Badaoni, III, 118; Tr., III, 173.

7 *Ibid.* 148; Tr., III, 209.

8 E. & D., VI, p. 116.

Shaikh Hussain of Khwaraizm[1]. Badaoni used to take pride in the fact that his father had the privilege of studying under such a renowned scholar as Mir Sayyid Jalal, the saint, who had studied the traditional sayings of the Prophet under Mir Sayyid Rafi-ud-Din[2]. Chandra Bhan Brahaman was a pupil of Mulla Abdul Karim[3].

For still higher studies eager scholars visited the chief places of Muslim learning in Western and Central Asia, such as, Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kufa, Yemen, Damascus, Cairo, Nishapur (Iran), Baghdad, Hijaz, Khurasan, etc. Many an Indian Muslim and one or two Hindus also repaired to these places and spent years in study and observation[4].

Learned Disputations

Debates and disputations were held frequently on controversial topics of theology, law, grammar, etc. The learned of the day would take part in them. This was one of the methods for the advancement of education as well as determining the scholar's place among the learned[5]. Venkatanath won the admiration of Yajnanarayana Diksita of the Tanjore court when he came out successful in a disputation with a celebrated scholar who had commented upon *Sulba Sutras*[6]. Later on he vanquished his opponent

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1 Ain., I, (1939), p. 651.

2 Badaoni, III, 75; Tr. III, 121., Many other famous writers have been mentioned by Badaoni who took their post-collegiate studies under renowned teachers.

3 Islamic Culture, XIII, Pt. IV, p. 413.

4 Badaoni, III, 119 and 142; Tr. III, 176 and 200; E. & D., VI, pp. 176-77; Islamic Culture, XIII, No. 4, p. 418; Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August 1937, p. 8. Also see Tazkirah-i-Shustar, Calcutta 1924. Sometimes foreign scholars came to India for studies; Badaoni III, 76; Tr. III, 122.

5 Son of Govinda Diksita, Minister to Acyutappa who translated the *Pancanada-Mahatmya* in 1605. He flourished between 1615-45.

6 *Ibid.*

in a disputation over the *Kakataliya*[1]. Whenever two or more scholars met they discussed some controversial points. Arguments were advanced and quotations from standard works frequently mentioned in support of their contentions. Raghunatha, the first student of Nadia, defeated the teachers of Mithila in an open debate[2]. An appointment to the professorship in Nadia University was made after a keen debate between the selected candidates on certain specified controversial topics in an assembly of scholars who acted as judges[3]. The scholar who could hold his own against others got the appointment.

The Courses of Study

Very little information about the curriculum then in vogue is available. All contemporary records are silent on the point. Badaoni, while giving biographies of eminent persons, scholars and poets in his "Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh" frequently refers merely to their having studied all the books included in the ordinary curriculum of the time[4], but never mentions the names of the actual texts or the courses prescribed. Whatever little information we can collect is from stray accounts of the books studied by certain princes.

Badaoni differentiates the sciences which require the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as, philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of *talismans*, incantations and mechanics from the rest[5], which depend upon memory[6]. Abul Fazl, who was fully acquainted

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1 Dig. Vijaya, VI, 17. Karnatika Hist. Review, V, Pt. II, July 1938, pp. 23-24.

2 Ancient Indian Education by R. K. Mookerji, p. 600.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Badaoni, III, 119 ; Tr., III, 176.

5 *Ibid.* 154; Tr., III, 215.

6 *Ibid.* 113, and 129 ; Tr., III, 167 and 187.

with the more systematic classification of the Hindus, is more specific. He distributes all the subjects in three categories[1]. Ilahi or divine science, includes everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring knowledge of God. *Riyazi*, as its very name suggests, comprises the sciences which deal with quantity as mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics, while the *Tabiqi* sciences comprehend all physical sciences[2].

The courses of study in Muslim institutions usually comprised grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, metaphysics, literature and jurisprudence[3]. Astronomy, mathematics and medicine were included, and here Hindu influence was perceptible. To specialise in these difficult sciences Muslims often preferred to attend Hindu institutions. The Dar-i-Nizamiyyah of Mulla Nizamuddin of Shali who lived during the reign of Aurangzeb gives us a detailed list of the Arabic curriculum in vogue during the Mughal days. It includes besides grammar, syntax, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, *tafsir*, *fich*, *usulu-i-fich*, *Hadis* and the science of mathematics. The detailed list of the Persian texts used in *madrasahs* given in the Khulasatu-i-Maktib written in 1688 A.D., presumably by a Hindu writer, agreeably coincides in a large measure with the list of the books prepared by the present author from various sources. The curious reader is referred to Appendix A for a list of these books.

Apart from modern experimental sciences, such as, surgery, physics, chemistry, biology, zoology, etc., subjects of study in Hindu institutions were almost the same as in the present-day universities. The courses especially in grammar and philosophy

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1 Ain., I, pp. 288-89.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Badaoni, III, 155 ; Tr., III, 216 and also see 232.

were more comprehensive than in similar institutions of the contemporary world. It was, therefore, but natural for an individual to specialise only in certain branches of this vast field of knowledge. It must, however, be admitted that there was a great deterioration in the standard of Sanskrit teaching and examination since the days of Harsha, and the students of Mughal India could not boast of that high level of scholarship of which their ancestors were proud. The Vedic studies had almost disappeared and after Sayana there was no commentator of the Vedas. Gaga Bhatta of Banaras was one of the few first rate masters of the four Vedas and six systems of our philosophy[1].

Grammar was a full fledged separate subject of post-graduate study like literature and philosophy. It was taken up at a very early age. Panini's classical *sutras* containing the rules of grammar in eight books called *Ashtadhyayi* were no longer commonly studied and their place was taken by Siddhanta Kaumudi of Bhattoji Dikshit[2]. Other popular grammars were Katantra and Mugdharodh of Bopadeva.

Logic was from very ancient times a very popular subject of study with Hindus who made notable contributions to this science. The well-known six systems of philosophy were also studied[3].

The chief subjects of study during the Mughal period have been dealt with briefly in the following pages.

Mathematics ranked first among the sciences included in the curriculum. Akbar issued a *firman*

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1 Bartolomeo gives an exaggerated account of the courses of study followed in 1796. Bartolomeo, pp. 263-64.

2 S. R. Sharma's Bibliography of Mughal India, p. 158.

3 Indian Culture Through the Ages by S. V. Venkateswara, p. 235.

making it one of the compulsory subjects[1] to be taught in the *madrasahs*. Hindus were particularly proficient in this subject and travellers have, therefore, called them a "counting nation"[2]. European visitors were struck[3] to see the skill and ingenuity of the Hindus who could solve orally difficult sums with the same accuracy and facility as the "readiest arithmetician can with his pen." Some of the Muslims, too, distinguished themselves in this science.[4]

Astronomy and astrology were subjects of faith with the people and the court and their study was encouraged on all hands[5]. It formed part of regular courses in schools and colleges. Astronomy was a compulsory subject, while astrology was an optional one. Badaoni also remarks that some knowledge of astronomy was considered essential[6] and Akbar issued a *firman* commending its study[7]. Brahamans[8] were famous for their skill in both these sciences and never failed even to a minute in predicting the time for the eclipses of the Sun and Moon[9]. Among the famous astrologers of the period may be mentioned Jotika Rai[10], Kanjar Beg[11], Nuruddin

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1 Badaoni, II, 363; Tr., II, 375.

2 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 442.

3 Pyrard, II, p. 250; Tavernier, II, pp. 161-62; Thevenot, Chap. XXXVIII; Ovington, p. 280; India in Portuguese Literature, p. 121.

4 Khwaja Amir-ud-Din Mahmud of Herat (A. N., I, 449), Mulla Nur-ud-din Muhammad-i-Tarkhan *alias* Nuri (Badaoni, III, 197-99; Tr. III, 273-75), Fatehullah of Shiraz (Badaoni, II, 315; Tr., II, 325) and Hafiz Muhammad Khiyab were famous mathematicians. Ataullah wrote a treatise on mensuration and algebra (Reiu add 16744).

5 For Humayun's interest in astronomy, see Humayun Badshah, II, p. 353.

6 Badaoni, II, 307; Tr., II, 316.

7 Ain, I (1939), pp. 288-89. Badaoni, II, 307; Tr. II, 316.

8 Pyrard II, p. 250; Pelsaert's India, p. 77; Hamilton, I, p. 276, Ovington, p. 351 and Ain., II, pp. 351-52.

9 Pelsaert's India, p. 77.

10 Ain., I, 442n.

11 Badaoni, III, 224-27; Tr., III, 310-15.

Muhammad Tarkhan, and Imam Abul Muhammad of Ghazni[1]. Mulla Farid Manajam, the great astronomer who lived in Shahjahan's reign, prepared an astral chart and named it Zich-i-Shahjahani[2].

Medicine was another important subject[3]. Akbar issued a *firman* that people should study medicine[4]. According to Badaoni, medicine[5] was cultivated and thought necessary. It appears that both *ayurvedic* and *unani* systems were taught side by side[6]. The most famous centre of education in medicine was at Sirhind[7]. Usually this profession was hereditary, and those physicians whose forefathers had practised the art did very well in this profession. Some of the experienced *hakims* had opened private institutions for training students.[8] Some of them wrote books on this subject[9]. Education in surgery was abhorred by Hindus as the dissecting of limbs was considered to be inhuman. But the Muslims had no such aversion, and they practised inoculation and performed operations[10]. *Jarrahs* or Indian surgeons, though not as skilled as their contemporaries in western countries, were nevertheless able to perform some remarkable operations and could provide artificial limbs[11]. Hindus of

1 A.N., II, 6 ; Tr., II, 11.

2 Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani, B.M. (Or 1673) f. 320b.

3 Ain., I, pp. 288-89.

4 Badaoni II, 363 ; Tr. II, 375.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 315. He thinks chemists' shops were no better than perfumery stores.

7 Monserrate, p. 102.

8 Badaoni, III, 161-62 ; Tr., III, 224-25. *Ibid.* 167-68 ; Tr., III, 234-35. E. & D., II, p. 2.

9 Badaoni, III, 167-68 ; Tr., III, 234-35 ; Bernier, p. 335.

10 Elphinstone, I (MXCCCXLIII), p. 280. Elphinstone remarks "Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, conched for the cataract, and extracted the foetus from the womb and in their early work enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical works." *Ibid.*

11 Storia, II, p. 301.

Calicut[1] were particularly well read in all branches of medicine and practised "the apothecary's art after the manner of Portuguese and Europeans[2]".

Veterinary science was not unknown. Though no regular teaching in this subject seems to have existed for the public, ancient books were available for guidance in the treatment of elephants and horses[3]. Shaikh Bina, son of Shaikh Husan, was the most skilful surgeon of the time so far as the treatment of elephants was concerned[4]. *Raibari* was a class of Hindus well-acquainted with the treatment of camels. *Tatbya*[5] and *Tajri*[6] were the popular preventive measures adopted to avoid sickness among camels[7].

Physics and chemistry were studied, but were regarded as a part of the science of mathematics.[8] People knew the uses of various metals and other chemical compounds. Belief in alchemy was universal in that age. Akbar is said to have learnt this so-called science from a *yogi*[9]. Hindus had a complete mastery over the science of meteorology and correctly foretold when the "wild clouds, winds and fighting occur[10]."

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1 Ovington, p. 351.

2 Pyrard, I, p 377.

3 Gayshastra and Salhotra deal with the diseases of the elephants and horses respectively. Ain., III, pp. 271-79.

4 Badaoni, III, 170 ; Tr., III, 237-38.

5 Oiling of camels as anointing.

6 Injecting oil into their nostrils.

7 Ain., (1939), I, pp. 154-55.

8 Ain., I, pp. 42-43.

9 Badaoni, too, relates a story that certain Shaikh Nasir-ud-din turned all the copper utensils into gold when Humayun was in great straits after his defeat at Chausa. The chemical used was given to the Shaikh by a certain *Yogi*, it is related. Badaoni. I, 109 ; Tr., I, 161-62.

10 John Marshall in India, p. 233. Pelsaert's India, p. 77.

Philosophy, history and poetry etc. were taught in schools and practised by the learned. Hindus, especially Brahamans, were interested in philosophy and mathematics, which were very ancient sciences in India. Abul Fazl mentions nine schools of Hindu philosophy[1]. History was a favourite subject of study with Muslims and it reached a high degree of excellence even when compared with contemporary Europe. Some of the ablest historians of all ages were born in this period. The names of Abul Fazl, Badaoni, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Khafi Khan and a score of others illuminated this period.

Very little attention was paid to geography in schools and colleges. In fact this subject was almost excluded from the '*dars*'[2]. Aurangzeb heaped abuses on his tutor for wasting his time on the subtleties of Arabic metaphysics to the neglect of practical subjects, such as geography and politics. According to Bartolomeo, they had little desire to be acquainted with foreign countries as they considered their country to be the most beautiful and happiest in the world[3]. People were ignorant about the geographical position of even the neighbouring countries. Roe was much surprised to know that no regular communication existed between India and China[4]. Map drawing was ignored altogether. A map of the globe was so rare a thing that Roe included it among the presents he offered to the governor of Surat[5]. But some of them had a good knowledge of the interior of the country. Humayun is said to have possessed a wide geographical knowledge[6]. The Ain-i-Akbari

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1 Ain., III, p. 127, Thevenot, Chap. XXXVIII, Pt. III.

2 Bartolomeo, pp. 265-66.

Ibid.

4 Roe's Embassy, p. 63.

bid.

Ferishta, II, 530; Briggs II, 178; Mauncci (Vol. II, 51)'s tory that once Humayun enquired from Sidi Ali Reis whether Turkey was larger than India seems to be pure imagination.

and Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh give us detailed and accurate information about the different *subhas* and cities of the empire. Talib of Isfahan presented Abul Fazl with a treatise on the wonders of Tibet which the latter included in his Akbarnama[1]. A notable geographical work of the period was "Dosavali-Vivriti" by a Sanskrit scholar Jagan Mohan. It deals with the geography of 56 countries, both old and new.

Women's Education

Women's education was not ignored in Mughal days. But it was confined to princesses and upper class ladies. The society accorded an honourable place to educated women, some of whom rose to the high position of king's advisers and counsellors by dint of sheer merit. Durgavati[2], Chand Bibi[3], Nur Jahan[4], Jahanara[5], Sahibji, the wife of Amir Khan[6], and Tarabai[7] played important roles in Indian history. Mira Bai[8], Gulbadan Begum[9], Salima Sultana[10], Rupmati[11], Zeb-un-Nisa[12] and

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1 Badaoni, III, 265 ; Tr., III, 369.

2 A.N., II, Tr., II, 324-25. E. & D., V, p. 169.

3 Ferishta, III, p. 312.

4 Beni Prasad's Jahangir, pp. 182-85.

5 Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Vol. XIII, No. 4, August 1937.

6 Studies in Mughal India, by J.N. Sarkar, pp. 111-18.

7 Sarkar, V, pp. 199-201 ; K.K., II, pp. 469, 516.

8 Mira Bai, the sweet singer of Rajputana, is, according to J.C. Ghosh, "the best woman poet of India before the 19th century." The legacy of India by Garatt, p. 383. Her Radha-Krishna lyrics in Braj are very famous. Religious Literature of India, p. 306.

9 Author of Humayunama.

10 Badaoni, II, 377 ; Tr., II, 389.

11 Romantic wife of Baz Bahadur, ruler of Malwa, during Akbar's time. She was a poetess and composed sweet verses. In this connection see an interesting book on Rupmati, "Lady of the Lotus" by Ahmad-ul-Umar, tran. L.M. Crump.

12 Daughter of Aurangzeb pen-name "zeb" author of "Diwan-Makhfi." B.O.R.S. Jan., 1927. Studies in Mughal India, pp. 70-90.

Zinat-un-Nisa[1] distinguished themselves in the literary sphere. A well-known work of the period entitled "Mahilamriduvani" gives us a list of no less than 35 women all of importance "not minor poets Indian but prophetesses who have left their mark on the literary sphere[2]." There were many other ladies of fame whose names can be seen in the "Poems by Indian Women" edited by Margaret Macnicol[3]. These distinguished names suggest the existence of a high level of education for women.

No regular separate schools seem to have existed for imparting education to girls, who had their early lessons usually from their parents. Girls in their childhood attended schools along with boys, and learnt the Quran (if they were Muhammadans) and one or two other lessons by rote. The rich appointed tutors to teach their daughters at home. The author of Qanun-i-Islam speaks of girls being taught the Quran and elementary reading[4]. There is no doubt about the literacy of high born and well-to-do women. The daughters of Rajput chiefs and some Bengali *zamindars* were usually able to read and write. Special care was taken over the education of Mughal princesses[5], almost all of whom daily read the Quran and occasionally corresponded[6] with their relatives. Some of them composed verses and were well-versed in music. The average Mughal princess received but a limited education[7]. Her regular studies came to an end with her marriage which

1 Daughter of Aurangzeb. She was also a poetess.

2 Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies, I (1917).

3 "Poems by Indian Women" edited by Margaret Macnicol (Heritage of India Series), pp. 24, 26, 30, 32.

4 Qanun-i-Islam, ed. Crookes, p. 51. For a painting showing a Mughal princess taking her lessons see Promotion of Learning in India, p. 206, Plate I.

5 *Ibid.*

6 H.N.G. (Bev), p. 150.

7 R. & B., II, p. 277; E. & D., VII, p. 162. Islamic Culture, July 1937.

usually took place at an early age. So the opportunities to acquire a mastery over the language were few. Later on she had no cultural or educational activities to keep up her interest in letters. Few specimens of letter writing by Mughal princesses exist. The husband of Gulbadan did not even recognise his wife's handwriting. Her Humayunnama, according to Banerji, "abounds with spelling mistakes and clumsy sentences." Even the poems of Zeb-un-Nisa and Zinat-un-Nisa do not rise so high in poetic excellence as those of contemporary male authors.

There is, however, little doubt about the literacy of the average middle class woman who had sufficient knowledge of either Hindi, Persian or of the native provincial language to enable her to study the religious scriptures. Mukundram, a 16th century poet and author of the poem *Chandi Mangal*, throws light on the education of the average Hindu lady in those days. He relates how a middle class lady found out a forged letter. She at once recognised that the writer was not the person by whom it purported to have been written[1]. Special stress was laid on the education of widows, some of whom even became teachers, as far instance Hati Vidyalankara who migrated to Bihar from Bengal and became a teacher there[2]. We concur with the poet's concluding view, "There is evidence to show that women belonging to the lower ranks of society, such as, housemaids were illiterate, but there is nothing to discountenance female education[3]."

Writing Paper

Paper was in common use in India long before the Mughal period[4]. Most of the manuscripts written

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1 Bengal in the 16th century, p.180.
2 Keay's Indian Education, p.77.
3 Bengal in the 16th century, p.180.
4 "The Antiquity of Writing in India" by Bishnu Svarup J.B.O.R's Vol. VIII, Pt. I, pp. 45-47.

during our period have flowery borders and the paper used is also of good quality[1]. Sialkot was famous for paper, specially *Man Singhi* and silk paper which "were good in texture, clear and durable." It was also used in the courts of Mughal emperors[2] for keeping records. The best quality of paper was manufactured at Shahzudpur and thence exported to other parts of the country[3]. Inscriptions and grants of land etc. were written on metal plates for permanent preservation[4].

Paper was seldom used in primary schools. Children either used wooden boards or the ground for writing on[5]. Sometimes the poor used palm[6] leaves for writing letters. These leaves were "dressed, dried and then used as a paper[7]." The innermost part of the palm tree, which was plaited into about 50 or 60 folds[8], served as paper. The letters were then folded and made round like a rod or ribbon[9]. Abul Fazl[10], Pyrard[11], and Thevenot[12] corroborate this. Some people of Kashmir, however, used instead of paper or palm leaves *'tuz'*, that is the bark of a tree worked into sheets[13]. According

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1 See manuscripts in Khuda Bux Library, Patna; and the Punjab University Library, Lahore.

2 India of Aurangzeb, p.95.

3 Petermundy, II, p.98.

4 Storia III, p. 112.

5 Travels in India in the 17th century, p.312. Della Valle quoted in Wheeler's History of India, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 486.

6 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. I, p.90; Travels in India in the 17th century, pp. 185-86.

7 Linschoten, II, p.50.

8 Ibid.

9 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. I, p.90.

10 Ain., II, p. 126.

11 Pyrard, II, p. 408.

12 Thevenot, pt. III, Chap, I, p. 88.

13 Ain., II, p. 351. Babar refers to a certain paper made of 'tar' (B.N., p. 510).

to Abul Fazl, most of their ancient manuscripts were written on this type of paper.

Calligraphy

Printing[1] was not in vogue in India at that time so books had to be written in manuscript by skilful calligraphists[2]. The pen called *'persian qalam'* was used. It was a piece of reed mended like a quill[3]. They used brass inkstands for holding the pens and the ink[4]. The rich used golden inkpots, but Aurangzeb ordered that men of literary taste should use china inkpots[5]. The poor employed iron pens for writing on palm leaves "holding it with the clenched fist[6]." According to Pyrard, the people of Calicut wrote with "iron bodkins upon palm leaves" when green[7]. No sooner did they get dry, than it was impossible to "get the printed letters out of it[8]." A sharp iron instrument was used for writing on cocoa leaves[9]. The colour of the ink was usually black and sometimes white as these "colours best prevent any ambiguities in reading[10]." Kashmiris prepared such a fine ink that the letters once written could never be washed away[11].

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1 The earliest Indian printing was done by the Jesuits in presses at Goa, and Rachol about the middle of the 16th century. Smith's Akbar, pp. 424-25.

2 It was impossible to cut satisfactory types of Persian and Arabic alphabets many a decade after its adoption in India in the 16th century. The best Persian and Arabic types cannot stand comparison with the beautiful calligraphy of the Mughal Persian manuscripts. Smith's Akbar, pp. 424-25.

3 Ovington, p. 249.

4 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 442. For reference to the use of lead pencils (qalm-i-surb) see Maasir, I, pp. 256-57.

5 M. A. Trans. (Urdu), p. 111.

6 Ain. II, p. 126.

7 Pyrard, I, p. 408.

8 Linschoten, II, p. 50.

9 Travels in India in the 17th century, pp. 185-86.

10 Ain. I, p. 105.

11 Ain. II, p. 351.

Penmanship was considered to be a fine art and good writers were given high salaries. Eight calligraphical systems were in vogue[1] and of these *Naskh* and *Nastaliq* were the most important. Babar introduced a new style called *Khatt-i-Baburi.* He transcribed the Quran in that very script and sent it to Mecca[2]. Experts in each of the above systems were available in India[3].

Books, Rare and Costly

Being written by hand, books were naturally scarce and costly. Every student could not be expected to have a copy of his own. Most of them depended upon libraries of which there were quite a large number. Some of them, specially students attending higher courses in Persian, possessed books besides the one in the custody of the teacher[4].

We have little information about the actual price of the books included in the curriculum except what we can gather from the amount paid by the kings and nobles for certain precious manuscripts. It must be observed, however, that the rich decoration and binding which were usual in the presentation copy intended for a rich patron, greatly enhanced the price of the book[5]. Tuhfat-us-Salatin by Mir Ali was purchased perhaps by Humayun for Rs. 2,500 as an inscription on the title page shows. Nur Jahan purchased a *diwan* of Mirza

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1 Ain. I, pp. 105-08.

2 Badaoni I, 343 ; Tr. I, 450.

3 Badaoni III, 273 ; Tr. III, 378. Ain. I, p. 107 ; Badaoni, III, 181-82 ; Tr. III, 254-55 : T.A. II, p. 658. Tuzuk-Lowe, p. 76. Tazkira-Khusnavisan-i-Hind, pp. 57 and 125.

4 Badaoni relates that when a certain student came to Shaikh Bhikan (certainly with a book) to set him a task, the Shaikh replied, "Better read some work on divinity." Badaoni, III, 148 ; Tr. III, p. 209. Also refer to Macauliffe I, 163.

5 The huge amount spent by Aurangzeb to decorate a set of Quran to be sent to Mecca may well serve as an example. M.A. (Urdu), pp. 388-89.

Kamran for 3 *muhurs*[1]. Munim Khan paid Rs. 500 as a reward to Bahadur Khan who had sent him a present of the copy of Kulliyat (naturally richly bound and with illustrations and flowery borders) of Hazrat Shaikh Sadi in 976[2] A. H. and as is apparent the latter must have been paid a sum large enough to have no comparison with the actual cost of the book, by his rich patron. Manrique and De Laet mention 24,000 richly bound and rare manuscripts in the Imperial Library and estimate their value to be about Rs. 64,63,731[3], that is, about Rs. 260 per book. These books were usually adorned with the paintings and illustrations so dear in these days[4]. Jahangir would not have distributed books so liberally among the elite of Gujarat, if they had been unprocurable[5]. It appears that ordinary books were available in the market at reasonable prices. Badaoni's remarks testify to this. "There is no street or market (in the Imperial capital) in which the booksellers do not stand at road sides selling copies of the *diwans* of these two poets (Urfi of Shiraz and Hussain Sanai) and both Perisans and Indians buy them[6]." We have little knowledge about the availability and the prices of Sanskrit books and manuscripts, but it is probable that there were a small number of copies of each work either in individual hands or in possession of the institutions which quite

1 MSS. of Diwan-i-Kamran, Khuda Baksh Library, Patna.

2 Islamic Culture, Oct. 1945, p. 343.

3 See "The Treasury of Akbar", J.R.A.S., April 1915, Mandelslo, p. 37.

4 Jahangir purchased a copy of the Yusuf-Zulaikha, evidently a book with paintings and illustrations for 1000 gold muhurs. Copy in Bankipore Library, another copy in Shantiniketan. "From notes and calculations I have made, miniatures by Bihzad were worth hundreds of pounds each and certain of his manuscripts were worth ten times than now." Martin, Vol, I, p. 58.

5 R & B, I, pp. 439-40.

6 Badaoni, III, p. 285; Tr III, 393.

naturally and "rigidly guarded these treasures of knowledge by never permitting out the copies of the texts they taught." Mithila University had prohibited any of its students from taking away from its school any of the books or even notes of the lessons taught there. Vasudeva finding it impossible to get a copy of the work *Tatta Chintamani* and the metrical part of *Kusumanjali* anywhere risked his own life by committing to memory both the works while studying in Mithila, and then fleeing thence and reducing them to writing at Nadia[1].

Libraries

Quite a large number of libraries existed during the Mughal times. Every *madrasah* usually possessed a library, big or small, attached to it. The big library attached to the *madrasah* at Ahmedabad, called *Sham-i-Burhani*, existed up to 980 A.H. when Akbar conquered Gujarat[2]. Wali or Dai's *madrasah* started at Ahmedabad in 1654 A.D., *madrasah* Faiz Safa (founded in 1681 A.D.), *madrasah* Hidayat Baksh (completed in 1699 A.D.) and another *madrasah* started by Shaikh Ibrahim at Kutiana in Kathiawar (1689 A.D.) possessed big libraries. Sultan Ahmad Khatwi built a mosque, *khanqah*, *madrasah* and a tank in Sarkahaiz in Ahmedabad, and a library was also housed in one of its apartments[3]. These libraries were meant for students and teaching staff, but there was nothing to prevent scholars known to the authorities from borrowing books. These libraries may be regarded as public libraries in that sense. The greatest of these libraries was the Imperial Library. Though meant

1 Ancient Indian Education by R. K. Mookerji, pp. 597-600.

2 Zafr-ul-Walih, V, I, p. 32. London, Islamic Culture, October 1945 p. 339.

3 Tuhfat-ul-Majalis, MSS. section 38.

exclusively for royal use, scholars could have access to it[1].

All the Mughal emperors[2] from Babar to Aurangzeb were men of literary taste and took keen interest in the development of the Imperial Library. They were very eager to collect and preserve rare books, and they valued presents of scholarly books from learned authors. Their examples were followed by nobles and courtiers who had their own libraries[3].

As in every other sphere, Akbar also introduced reforms in the management, classification and storage of books which had by that time increased enormously. He brought it to the level of efficiency which compares favourably with the modern standard of classification. The library was divided into different compartments according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the different sciences were held. They were further divided according to different languages in which

1 See Badaoni II, 377; Tr. II, 389.

2 For Babar : B. N., p. 460; H. N. Gul (Beveridge), p. 76; For Humayun : Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat—Stewart, p. 107; H. N. Gul (Beveridge), p. 154; A. N., I, pp. 309-10; A. N. II, p 442; Von Noer's Kaiser Akbar I, p. 136; Elphinstone, II (MECCCXLIII), pp. 126-27; For a photograph of his library see Promotion of Learning in India opposite p. 133. For Salima Sultana's Library see Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, pp. 139-40; For Akbar : Ain. I, p. 110-12. A.N.I. 94; Tr. I, 290; II, 202; Tr. II, 205; Badaoni II, 319; Tr. II, 328; III, 305; Tr. III, 421; E. & D. V, p. 519; Mandelslo, p. 37; Smith's Akbar, p. 424; Mellson's Akbar, p. 169; Tarikh-i-Agra, p. 75; For Jahangir : R. & B. I, pp. 439-40; Wakiat-i-Jahangir E & D VI, p. 360; E & D VII, p. 74. For Shahjahan : Shahjahannama, II, p. 505; Journal Islamic Culture, October 1945; For Aurangzeb : M.A. (Trans-Talab), pp. 387, 394; Fergusson's Architecture at Bijapur, p. 75; For Zeib-un-Nisa's library see M.A. (Trans. Talab). p. 394; B.O.R.S. Jan. 1927 art. on Zeb-un-Nisa; Dewan of Zeb-un-Nisa by Magan Lall (Wisdom of the East series) Introduction.

3 Badaoni III, 305; Tr. III, 421; E. & D. V. 548-49; Maasir-i-Rahimi III, 1696; Maarif Vol. XIV, Islami, Culture, October 1945.

they were written, such as, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmiri, Arabic, etc. Each section was subdivided into prose and poetry and the books arranged accordingly[1]. The library was well-managed and had experienced officers to supervise and direct its affairs. An officer who had the title of *nizam* was in charge of the library[2]. Next to him was the *muhtamim* or *darogha*[3]. He had several assistants under him to "enter the books in the register and to keep separate registers for separate subjects and number the books." He was also responsible for the selection and purchase of books for the library. The people who were employed for the care, upkeep and correction of books, like the scribe, *warraq shhaf*[4], book-binders[5], painters[6], etc. were masters of their art. Skilful copyists, *khushnavis*, gilders, cutters, etc., were always employed to do various specialists' jobs. *Jadwal saz's* duty was to make "plain, coloured, silvery, golden, original and artificial marginal drawings round the page." The translators were also kept on a permanent basis. They were usually well-versed in Arabic and Persian[7]. The books after being copied by scribes were sent to the *muqabalanavis* who compared the copy with the original and corrected the mistakes.[8] The issue and restoration of each book was watched carefully and any defects immediately detected[9].

Private libraries were common. Almost every learned scholar or rich patron possessed a library

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1 Ain. I, p. 110.

2 Shahjahannama, II, p. 505 in Islamic Culture January 1946, p. 18.

3 *Ibid.* Mir Baqi was appointed daroga in Khan-i-Khanan's library. Maasir-i-Rahimi, III, p. 1680.

4 Their duty was to clean the books.

5 Maasir-i-Rahimi, III, p. 1680.

6 *Ibid*, p. 1682.

7 See Maarif, Vol. XIV.

8 Maasir-i-Rahimi, III, p. 1696.

9 Badaoni, II, 376; Tr. II, 389.

of his own. The nobles vied with each other in adding rare books to their libraries. These manuscripts sometimes were bought at high prices[1]. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan possessed a big personal library. The staff employed in its upkeep, preservation and management totalled ninety-five. It included a librarian, *khushnavis*, painters, bookbinders, scribes, and *warraq shhaf*, all kept in service on a permanent basis. Most of the books in the Khan-i-Khanan's library were illustrated by a Hindu painter[2]. Many learned men and scholars used to come to the Library for "study and self-improvement[3]." Shaikh Faizi, too, had a grand library. It contained 4,600 books[4] which were either in "the handwriting of the author or had been written in the author's time."

Maharaja Chhika Deva Raya of Mysore (1672-1704) was an author of repute. He collected in his library the rarest Sanskrit and historical works which were unfortunately subsequently destroyed by Tipu Sultan[5]. Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur (fl. 1699-1743) possessed an unrivalled library containing all the astronomical treatises such as Ptolemy's Almagest, the astronomical tables of Ulug Beg, La Hire's Tabulae Astronomical, Flamsteed's Historia, Coelestis Britannica, also certain western mathematical works such as Euclid's Elements, a treatise on plains and spherical trigonometry, and the construction of logarithms. It is impossible

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1 Martin in 'Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, Vol. I, p. 58.

2 See Sayyid Sulaiman's article in Islamic Culture, p. 426 on the 'Literary Progress of the Hindus under Muslim Rule.'

3 Maasir-i-Rahimi MSS. in A.S.B., Leaf 407.

4 The books were on literature, medicine, astronomy, music, philosophy, tasavvut, science, mathematics, commentary, jurisprudence, hadith, etc. (*Ibid*). E & D, V, pp. 548-49. Badaoni III, 305 ; Tr. III, 421.

5 Poems by Indian Women, edited by Macnicol Margaret. Heritage of India Series, p. 26.

to give a detailed list of the books in his library as most of the books were destroyed after his death. However, it has been clearly recorded that he procured most of the books from Europe, besides those available in India[1].

Hindus possessed huge libraries at their famous seats of learning, such as, Banaras, Tirhut, Mithila, Nadia, etc. These libraries stocked huge piles of rare authentic ancient works on philosophy, medicine, religion, history and many other sciences. According to Dr. Fryer, several libraries of Hindus were filled with rare and precious Sanskrit manuscripts, "unfolding the mysteries of their religion[2]." When the traveller Bernier paid a visit to Banaras, Kavindra received him warmly in the University Library[3]. Bernier saw there a large hall "entirely filled with such scripts[4]." Thevenot writes, "They have many ancient books all in verse of which they are great lovers[5]." These libraries were later on destroyed by Muhammadans[6]. The Brahamans of Kashmir held a sufficient stock of books which they regularly studied[7].

1 Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh by G. Kaye. It is said that Jai Singh's son Jagat Singh gave this valuable library to a courtesan and it was thus destroyed and its books distributed among her 'base relations.'

2 Travels in India in the 17th century, p. 392.

3 Bernier & Kavindracarya at the Mughal court, Oriental Institute of Research, December 1945.

4 Bernier, p. 335.

5 Thevenot, Pt. III, Chap. I, p. 90.

6 Travels in India in the 17th century, p, 392.

7 Iqbalnama translation (Urdu), p. 107.

APPENDIX A

The following is a list of the Persian books studied in *madrasahas* during the Mughal period[1]:

1. Ruqqat-i-Abul Fazl.
2. Letters of Chandra Bhan Brahaman.
3. Letters of Mulla Munir.
4. Insha-i-Yusufi.
5. Insha-i-Madho Ram.
6. Hand-book of Shaikh Inayat Ullah.
7. Insha-i-Khalifa.
8. Bahar-i-Sukhan by Shaikh Muhammad Salih.
9. Kheyalat-i-Nadir.
10. Dastur-us-Sibyan.
11. Epistles of Shaida and Mulla Tughra.
12. Story of Lall Chand.
13. Lilavati translated by Shaikh Faizi.
14. Shaikh Nasr-i-Zahuri's work.

POETRY

1. Firdausi's Shahnama.
2. Poems of Amir Khusrau-Qiranus Sadain, Matla-ul-Anwar and Ijaz-i-Khusravi.

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1. These books are not given in the order in which they were taught. The course refers to the 17th century. The list has been compiled from the following sources: Khulasatu-i-Maktib (MS); Chahar Chaman; Gul-i-Raana-Islamic Culture, April 1945; Shir-ul-Ajam III (1922), pp. 149-50; Adbiat-i-Farsi Main Hinduon Ka Hissa, pp. 239-42.

3. Mulla Jami's works—Yusuf Zulaikha, Tuhfatu-i-Ahrar, Nuzhatu-L-Abrár.

4. Nizami's works—Sikandarnamah, Makhzanu-L-Asrar, Haft Paikar, Shirin Khusrau, Laila Majnu.

5. Diwans of Hafiz, Khaqani, Anwari, Shams-i-Tabriz, Zahir-i-Faryabi, Sadi and Salih.

6. Qasaid of Badr-i-Chach, Urfi and Faizi.

FICTION

Tuti-nama of Nakshabi, Anwar-i-Suhaibi of Husain Waiz Kashifi, Iyar-i-Danish of Shaikh Abul Fazl, Bahar-i-Danish of Inayatullah, Seh Nasr Zuhuri.

HISTORY

Zafarnama-i-Kangra by Raja Husain, Akbarnama of Abul Fazl, Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Zafarnama of Sharaf-ud-din Ali Yazdi, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Razmnama (translation of Mahabharata).

ETHICS

Akhlaq-i-Nasiri, Akhlaq-i-Jalali, Akhlaq-i-Muhasini, Works of Sharaf-ud-din Maniri, Nuzhatu-L-Arwah, Masnawi of Maulana Rum, Hadiqah of Sanai.

In the end we may quote a paragraph from the Chahar Chaman in which Chandra Bhan advises his son Tej Bhan about the books to be studied.

خواندن کتب اخلاق مثل اخلاق ناصری و اخلاقی جلالی و مطالعه
تاریخ سلف مثل حبیب‌السیرو روضته‌الصفا وروضته‌السلاطین و تاریخ
گزیده و تاریخ طبری و ظفرنامه و اکبرنامه و امثال آں ضرور ترکه هم
متانت بسخن می رسد و هم اطلاع بر احوال جهاں و جهاں یاں حاصل
شودو در مجالس و محافل بکارآید۔

He recommends him to study the works of the following authors: Hakim Sanai, Mulla Rum, Shamsh Tabriz, Shaikh Farid-ul-din Attar, Shaikh Sadi, Khwaja Hafiz, Shaikh Karmani, Mulla Jami, Asjdi, Ansari, Firdausi, Khaqani, Anwari, Amir Khusrau, Baba Faghani, Sudai, Husan Dehalvi, Usman Mukhtari, etc.

APPENDIX B

We can have an idea of the texts prescribed for graduation course in Arabic from Shah Wali Ullah who lived during the last days of Aurangzeb and gives us in the Juzu-i-Latif a comprehensive list of the books he had to study in various schools and colleges. Some prescribed texts traced from other sources have also been included.

GRAMMAR

Kafiyah, and Sharh Jami, and Qazi Shihabu-ud-din's manual on the same subject.

RHETORIC

Mukhtasar and Mutawwal.

PHILOSOPHY AND LOGIC

Shamisiyyah, a commentary on logic, the work of Amir Sayyid Ali of Hamadan, commentary on Hidayatu-l-Hikmah and Matabi.

SCHOLASTICISM

Commentaries on Al Aqaid of Nasafi, notes and comments of Khayali and Mawaqif.

ISLAMIC LAW

Islamic Law of inheritance, Sharhul Wiqyah Hidayah.

JURISPRUDENCE

Husami and Tauihut-Talwih.

MEDICINE

Abridgement of Abu Ali Ibn Sina's Qanun.

TRADITION

Mishkatu-l-Masabih, Sahih-i-Bukhari, Shamayil by Tirmidhi.

TAFSIR

Naqd-i-fusus, commentary on Fusu Su-i-Hikami. Commentary on Miftah, Madarik and Baidawi and Araisu-i-Bayan by Shaikh Abdul Muhammad Ruzbihan.

OTHER BOOKS

(*On mysticism, religion, etc.*)

Awarifu-i-Maarif by Shaikh Shihabu-d-din Abu Hafz Umar, Fususu-i-Hikam by Muhiyyun-d-din, Shatibi by Abul Muhammadi-I-Qasimi Shatibi, treatises on Naqshabandiya school, commentary on Rubayyat of Jami, Introduction to the commentary on Lamat and to Naqdun Nusus.

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This thesis is based mainly on the accounts of contemporary foreign travellers who visited our country during the Mughal period. They belonged to various nationalities, but most of them were English, French, Portuguese and Italian. Being foreigners, they took notice of small things regarding the daily life of the people, their food and drink, manners and customs, religious beliefs and practices, etc. Sometimes they emphasized what to us was trivial and commonplace. The statements of foreign travellers are full of sweeping generalizations, exaggerations and sometimes even bazar gossip. These have, therefore, to be examined and used with caution, when corroborated by indigenous contemporary authorities. It should not be forgotten that even when the travellers took pains to ascertain facts and to describe them as impartially as they could, they touched only the externals of our life and culture. Hence no careful student of history can attach undue importance to their statements. Moreover, many of the travellers have copied, sometimes verbatim, the accounts of earlier visitors to this land, and therefore one often comes across in their pages clumsy repetitions made sometimes without regard to time and place. The works of the principal travellers have been arranged here in chronological order.

A—Foreign Travellers

1. *Varthema, Di Ludovico of Bologna (1502-08)*

The Itinerary of, from 1502 to 1508 edited by N. M. Pienzl.

2. *Dom Joao de Leyma (1518)*

His letters to the king of Portugal, Cochin etc. Translated into English by S. N. Sen under the title of "An Early Portuguese account of Bengal". Calcutta Review, Vol. LXVI, March, 1938.

3. *Reis, Sidi Ali (Duration of stay in India—1553-56)*

Travels and Adventures of, during the years (1553-56).

4. *Monserrate, S. J. (1580-82)*

The Commentary of, trans. from Latin by J. S. Hoyland, annotated by S. N. Banerji 1922. Oxford University Press.

5. *Linschoten, Von John Huyghen (1583-88)*

The Voyages of, to the East Indies. Translated, into English, Vol. I, by Arthur Coke Burnell. London. MDCCCLXXV; Vol. II by Mr. P. A Tiele, London, 1885.

6. *Ralph Fitch (1583-91)*

England's Pioneer to India, Burma, etc. edited by J. H. Riley. Also in Early Travels in India (1583-1619), edited by William Foster Oxford 1921. My references are usually to the latter.

7. *William Hawkins (1608-13)*

The Hawkins Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth and James I, edited with an introduction by Clements R. Markham, London. Printed for Hakluyt Society. MDCCCLXXVIII. Also in Early Travels in India by Foster.

8. *John Mildenhall (1606)*

"The Travels of, into Indies and in the countries of Persia and of the Great Mogor or Mogull," Purchas, II, pp. 229-304.

9. *Pyrard, Francois of Laval (1608-9)*

The Voyage of, to the East Indies, the Maldives, etc. Translated into English from French by Albert Gray assisted by H. C. P. Bell, Hakluyt Society, London. MDCCCLXXXVIII. Two volumes.

10. *William Finch (1608-11)*

"Observations of William Finch, merchant, taken out of his large Journall" in Purchas, IV, pp. 1-77. Also in "Early Travels in India" edited by Foster. I have referred to the latter.

11. *Lancaster, Sir James (1610-11)*

A journal kept in the Fourth Voyage in the Voyages of Sir James Lancaster and A Journal kept in the Sixth Voyage, April 1610—January 1611, in the Voyages of Sir James Lancaster in Purchas, IV, pp. 214-15.

12. *Middleton, Sir Henry (1610-11)*

"Account of the Sixth Voyage set forth by the East India Company in three ships" in Purchas, III, pp. 115-94.

13. *Salbancke Master Joseph (1610)*

The Voyage of, through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian Gulf and Arabia (1609-1610) in Purchas, III, pp. 92-89.

14. *Eredia de Manuel Godino (1611)*

Description of Hindustan and Guzarate, edited and translated by Rev. H. Hosten published in J. R. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. IV, 1938.

15. *Coryat Thomas (1615-16)*

Coryat's Crudities (Glasgow 1905) 2 Vols. Also in Early Travels in India and in Purchas, IV, pp. 469-87.

16. *Roe, Sir Thomas (1615-19)*

The Embassy of, to the court of the Great Mogul (1615-19), edited by William Foster, London 1899. A latter edition is of 1926. The former edition is meant unless mentioned otherwise.

17. *Steel Richard & John Crowther (1615)*

A journal of the journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther in Purchas, IV, pp. 266-79.

18. *Pelsaert Francisco (1620-27)*

The Remonstrantie of, translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and P Geyl, Cambridge, 1925.

19. *Terry (1622)*

The Rev. Edward Terry's Voyage to East Indies, written for the most part in 1622, London 1655. Also in Purchas, IX, pp. 1-54 and in Early Travels.

20. *Della Valle Pietro (1623-24)*

The Travels of a Noble Roman into East Indies and Arabian Deserta—London 1664. Also the Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India in two Volumes by Edward Grey. London, Hakluyt

Society MDCCCXCII. The former edition is mostly used.

21. *Petermundy (1628—34)*

Travels of, in Europe and Asia. Vol. II, Travels in Asia (1628—34). Second series 1914.

22. *Manrique Fray Sebastien (1628—43)*

Travels of ed. Luard and Hosten (Hakluyt 1927), 2 vols. Vol. II relates to India and is meant if not mentioned.

23. *Jos De Castro S.J. (1632)*

His letters written in the year 1632 edited by Rev. H. Hosten S.J. in J.R.A.S.B., 1938, Vol. IV, Article No. 21.

24. *Herbert Sir Thomas (1634)*

Description of the Persian monarchy now being the Oriental Indies and Afrik, 1634.

25. *Mandelslo Albert (1638-39)*

The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Fredrick Duke of Holstein to the Great Duke of Muscow, etc., etc., containing a particular description of Hindustan, the Moguls, the Oriental Island and China (in Book III) by Adam Olearius, Second Edition, London 1669.

26. *Tavernier, John Baptista (1631, 1645, 1651, 1657, 1664)*

The Six Voyages of, through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies. Finished in the year 1670. London 1678. Part I is meant unless mentioned otherwise.

27. *Manucci Niccolao Venetian (1653—1708)*

Storia Do Mogor or Mughal India (1653—1708) Translated into English by William Irvine, Vol. I-IV, (1907-08).

28. *Bernier Francois (1658)*

Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656—68). Translated and annotated by Archibald Constable (1891). Revised by V.A. Smith, Oxford (1934). The latter edition has been used.

29. *Nieuhoff John (1665)*

Voyages and Travels of, into Brazil and the East Indies. Printed for Henry Lintot and John Osborn.

30. *Thevenot Monsieur De. (1667)*

Travels of, into the Levant in three parts Trans. into English 1686. Part III relates to India.

31. *Marshall, John (1668—72)*

John Marshall in India—notes and observations in Bengal (1668—72) edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Oxford 1927.

32. *Bowrey Thomas (1669)*

A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal (1669—79), ed. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Hakluyt Society) 1905.

33. *Fryer John (1672—81)*

A New account of East Indies and Persia being nine years Travels edited with an introduction, notes and an index by Willian Crooke published in 3 volumes by Hakluyt Society, London, 1909.

34. *Fryer John and Sir Thomas Roe (1672—81)*

Travels in India in the 17th Century, London Trubner and Co., 1873.

35. *Hedges William (1681—87)*

The Diary of William Hedges Esq. during His Agency in Bengal with notes by R. Barlow, ed. by Col. Henry Yule, 2 Vols., London, MDCCCLXXXVII.

36. *Hamilton Alexander (1688—1723)*

A New Account of the East Indies (1688—1723), 2 Vols., London, MDCCXLIV. A later edition of MDCCXXVII is also sometimes used.

37. *Ovington J. (1689)*

A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689. London, 1696.

38. *Careri (1695)*

Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri (1695), ed. by S.N. Sen, published by National Archives of India, 1949.

39. Foster William, Early Travels in India, Oxford 1921.

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40. *Grose, F.S. (1754—58)*

A Voyage to the East Indies with general reflection on the Trade of India, London, 2 Vols.

41. *Stavorinus, John Splinter (1768—71)*

Voyages to the East Indies. Translated into English by Samuel Hull Willcocke in 3 Vols., London 1798.

42. *Bartolomeo, Fra Paolino Da San* (*1776—89*)

A Voyage to the East Indies containing an account of the manners, customs etc. of the natives, notes and illustrations by John Reinhold Foster. Trans. from the German by William Johnston. Printed by J. Lavid Chancery Holborn MDCCC.

B. Persian

1. *Babarnama* or *Tuzuk-i-Babari* by Babar, written in Turki and translated into English in three volumes by A.S. Beveridge, Luzac and Co., London, 1921. Very useful for description of India, its people, etc.

2. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat translated into English by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, London, 1895. Some touches here and there.

3. *Humayunnama* by Gulbadan Begam, translated into English by A.S. Beveridge, London, 1902. Useful for *harem* affairs and culture.

4. *Humayunnama* by Khwandamir (MS), Public Library, Lahore.

5. *Qanoon-i-Humayuni* by Khwandamir, translated into English by Baini Prasad, 1940. Useful.

6. *Tazkirat-ul-Waqyat* by Jauhar. Translated into English by Charles Stewart, London, M.D. CCCXXXII. Useful.

7. *Akbarnama* (Persian text Bibliotheca Indica) by Abul Fazl. Translated into English by H. Beveridge in three volumes 1904. Useful.

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14. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* (Persian manuscript). Translated into Urdu by Maulavi Abalswala Muhammad Zakriya, Osmania, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1928. Useful.

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16. *Maasir-i-Rahimi* (Persian text Bib-Ind.) by Mulla Abdul Baqi three volumes. Very useful.

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18. *Badshahnama* by Mirza Aminai Qazvini (Persian manuscript). Public Library, Lahore. Useful.

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INDEX

Abdul Hamid Lahori, 154.
Abdul Karim, Mian, 147.
Abdullah Shaikh, 134.
Abul Fazl, 3, 53, 61, 73, 88, 94, 148, 154, 155, 158, 159.
Agra, 31, 33, 57, 61, 70, 81, 96, 139, 142.
Ahmedabad, 50.
Ahmed Fath, Shaikh, 139.
Ahmedanagar, 124, 126.
Ain-i-Akbari, 4, 15, 18, 19, 21, 37, 52, 53, 55, 154.
Ajmer, 69, 77, 102.
Ajodhan, 102.
Aka Bai, 124.
Akbar, 2, 3, 19, 31, 40, 44, 54, 57, 61, 63, 70, 71, 74, 76, 79, 85, 88, 92, 93, 94, 104, 108, 109, 124, 126, 132, 138, 143, 146, 150, 151, 152, 153.
Akbarnama, 155.
Akram-ud-Din, 142.
Allahabad, 77.
Ali Mardan Khan, 97, 125.
Ali Sher, 146.
Ambala, 143.
Amin Khan, 106.
Arabia, 142.
Arthasastra, 15.
Ashtadhyayi, 150.
Asaf Khan, 38, 83.
Aurangzeb, 4, 28, 43, 44, 53, 73, 74, 79, 85, 96, 99, 113, 116, 124, 143, 149, 154, 159.
Aziz Koka, 109.
Babar, 7, 11, 15, 42, 44, 52, 61, 63, 72, 76, 160.
Bada Khan, 33.
Badakhashi, Mulla Shah, 142, 146.
Badaoni, 2, 31, 134, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154.
Balsar, 16.
Banaras, 16, 77, 132, 135, 136, 144.
Barbosa, 17.
Bartolomeo, 154.
Bayana, 143.
Baz Bahadur, 124.
Bengal, 16, 72.
Bernier, 2, 31, 33, 46, 72, 82, 106, 116, 132, 135.
Bharaij, 32.
Bhatacharya, Gadadhara, 137.
Bikaner, 69.
Birbal, 76.
Bisar, 15.
Bostan, 132.
Burhanpore, 77.
Calicut, 153, 159.
Cambaya, 16.
Chaitanya, 104, 136.
Chand Bibi, 126, 155.
Chandra Bhan Brahman, 99, 147.
China, 82, 154.
Chishti, Shaikh Muin-ud-Din, 108.
Constantinople, 82.
Dars, 154.
Dasgupta, H.C., 58, 59.
Datta, Jotinder Mohan, 58.
De Laet, 8, 38, 63.
Deccan, 124.
Dehlvi, Shaikh Gadai, 142.
Delhi, 31, 33, 50, 70, 72, 139.
Della Valle, 1, 20, 33, 50, 105, 107, 110, 130.

Diet :

Bread (*Chappatis*), its kinds, 35, 37 ; of *Bajra*, 35 ; of *Jawar*, 35 ; of *Khuskah*, 37 ; *Luchis*, 37 ; *Puris*, 37 ; *Roghuni*, 37 ;

Breakfast, expenses of nobles, 33 ; *Chauka* (Kitchen), 39 ; Cooking, mode of, 42 ; Crockery 39 ; *Dastarkhwan*, 41 ; of Abul Fazl, 32 ; of Common people, 34-36 ; of Gujratis, 35 ; of Kashmiris, 35 ; of Middle Classes, 36-38 ; of Poor, 31, 35 ; of Upper classes, 36-38.

Dishes :

Achars, 35, 36, 37 ; Beef, 31, 36 ; Beef broth and curry, 31 and f.n. 2 ; Cheese, 33, 36 ; Comfits, 37 ; Conserves, variety of, 31, 38 ; Curd, 35, 36, 40 Dishes, number of, 32, preparation of 32 and f.n. 3; *Faluda*, 38 ; Fish, 31 f.n. 6, 36 *Halwa*, 37 ; *Karam*, 35 *Khichari*, 34 ; *Khir*, 36 ; *Khowa* 36 ; Meat, 30, 31, and f. n. 1 ; Meat, its varieties, 31, 38 ; *Palaos*, its varieties, 37 ; Puddings, 37 ; Pulses, 36, 37 ; *Rishta-i-Khatai*, 38 ; Sweetmeats, 31, 32, 33, 37 ; Swineflesh, 31.

Drinks :

Coffee, 50 ; Ganges water, 34 and f. n. 5 ; Lemon juice, 34 ; Lemon Tea, 50 ; Rose water, 34 ; *Sharbat*, 34 ; Tea, 50 ; Drinking, manner of, 41.

Fruits. 33.
Fruits from abroad, 33.
Fruits (Dry), 34.
Fruits, consumption of, 34.
Ghee, 32.
Ice, 34.
Meals, number of, 35, 36.
Meals, timings of, 36.
Napkins, 38.
Patal, 40.
Rice, varieties of, 32.
Table Manners, 39—42.
Utensils, 38, 39.

Dress :

Dress of Men, *Bandhi*, 5 ; *Batugiriban*, 4 ; Breeches, 5 ; Caps, 7, 8 ; *Chakman*, 4 ; *Chera*, 4 ; Coats (quilted) 7 ; *Dhoti*, 2 *Fargi*, 4 ; *Fargul*, 4 ; *Gadar*, 4 ; *Katari* (dagger), 6 ; *Kulahs*, 8 ; *Langotas*, 6, 7 f. n. 5, page 7 ; *Mozas*, 9 ; *Nadiri*, 4 ; *Peshwaj*, 4 ; *Pyjama*, 2 ; *Qaba*, 2, 4, 5, 6 ; Scarf, 6 ; *Shah Ajidah*, 4 ; *Shalwars*, 5 ; *Shawls*, 6 ; Shirts, 5 ; Shoes, 9 ; Slippers, 10 ; Stockings, 9, 13 ; *Takauchiyah*, 4 ; Turban, 2, 8, 19 ; *Ulbagcha*, 3 ;

Dress of Women, *Angiya*, 11 ; *Badlah*, 13 ; Burqa 13 ; *Dopatta*, 13, *Farsh-i-Chandni*, 13 ; *Ghagra*, 12 ; *Her-Dudami*, 13 ; *Kainari*, 13 ; *Lachaq*, 13 ; *Nurmahali*, 14 ; *Panchatolia*, 13 ; Petticoat, 12 ; Qaba, 12 ; Sandal, 10; *Sari*, 11 ; *Shalwar*, 12 ; *Shawl*, 13 ; Shirt, 12 ; Silken Strings, 12 ; Slippers, 14 ; Smock, 11 ; Trousers, 12 ; Turban, 13.

Durgavati, 124, 126, 153.

Education :

Alchemy, 153 ; Arabic, 154, 164 ; Astrology, 138, 143, 148, 151 ; Astronomy, 133, 137, 138, 143, 148, 149, 151 ; Books, availablity of, 160 ; Books, Cost of, 160, 161 ; Certificates, grant of, 144, 145 ; Chemistry, 149, 153 ; Conovocation, 145 ; Courses of Study, 131, 132, 133, 148, 149 ; Curriculum, 131, 132, 148, 149 and *vide* Appendices A and B ; Degrees, grant of, 145, 146 ; Duration of courses 144 ; English, 143 ; Examinations, 138, 144, 145 ; Fee, 133 ; Geography, study of, 154, 157 ; Geometry, 148 ; Grammar, 133, 147, 149, 150 ; Hindi, 132, 164 ; History, 154 ; Inks, kinds of, 159 ; Jurisprudence, 149 ; Law, 133 ; Libraries, Public, 162, 163 ; Libraries, Private, 164, 165, 166 ; *Maktabs*, 130, 131, 142 ; Maktab Ceremony, 122, 130 ; *Madrashs*, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 151, 162 ; Mathematics; 138, 143, 148, 149, 150, 153 ; Medicine, 138, 143, 149, 152 ; Medicine, school of, 138, 152 ;

Metaphysics, 149 ; Meteorology, 153 ; Mixed Schools, 143 ; Paper, kinds of, 157, 158 ; *Pathshalas*, 130, 131 ; Pens for writing, 159 ; Persian 143, 144, 164 ; Philology, 138 ; Philosophy, 136, 137, 138, 148, 150, 154 ; Physics, 149, 153 ; Poetry, 133 ; Politics, 138 ; Primary Studies, 128, 131, 132, 156 ; Princesses, education of, 157 ; Punishment in schools, 134 ; Rhetoric, 149 ; Sanskrit, 132, 136, 150 ; Seats of Learning, 135—143, 147 ; Subjects of Study, 131, 132, 136, 137, 138, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154 ; Surgery, 149, 152, 153 ; *Sutras*, 150 ; Teachers, appointment of, 137, 148 , Teachers, respect for, 138, 154 ; Teachers, standard of, 134, 138, 147, 148 ; Theology, 138; 146, 147, 149 ; *Tols*, 128, Upanayana, ceremony of, 129 ; Veterinary Science, 153 ; Women, education of, 155, 156, 157 ; Writing paper, 157, 158 ; Writing, modes of, in Schools, 158 ; Writing, styles of, 131, 159 ;

Fairs, 101-2.

Farhangi Mahal, 143.

Fatehabad, 76.

Fatehpur Sikri, 57, 61, 70, 143.

Fatta, 126.

Festivals

Ab-i-Pashan, 90 ; Akhiri Chahar Shamba, 101 ; Bara Wafat, 100, 101 ; Birthday Celebrations, 84 : Chahellum, 101 ; Dasehra, 79, 92 ; Diwali, 93 ; Ganesh, 78 : Gaur 78 ; Govardhan Puja, 93 ; Holi, 78, 79, 90, 91 ; Id-ul Fitr, 98 ; Id-i-Gulabi, 90 ; Id-i-Milad, 96 ; Id-ul-Saghir, 98 ; Id-ul-Zuha, 99 ; Janamashtami, 78, 95 ; Mina Bazar, 88 ; Muharram, 95, 96 ; Nauroz, 79, 84, 89 ; *Nighadasht*, 91 ; Ramnaumi, 78, 95 ; Rakshabandhan, 91, 92 ; Shab-i-Barat, 96, 97, 101 ; Shivratri, 94 ; *Tula Dan*, 79 ; Vasant Panchmi, 78, 79, 90 ; Vijaya Dahsmi, 92 ;

Food, see under Diet

Firdausi, 132.

Fryer, 107.

Gaga Bhatta, 150,

Games, and Sports (*see also pastimes.*)

Acrobatics, 72, and f. n. 7 ; Animal-fights, 69, 78 ; Archery, 64 ; Betting, 55, 56, 70 ; Bagh bandi, 59 ; Bagh Chakar, 59 ; Bagh Chal, 59 ; Bheri Bakri, 60 ; Blindman's buff, 51 ; Boxing, 63 ; Cards, 51-53 ; Chakrachal, 59 ; Chandal Mandal, 56 ; Chaugan, 61, 62 ; Chaupar, 51, 55, 56 ; Chess 51, 54 ; Climbing of trees, 51 ; Fishing, 67-68 ; Golekuish, 60 ; Gutis, various game of; 57, 58 ; Hunting, 64-67 , Isq Bazi, 51, 71 ; Kabadi, 51 ; Lam Turki, 59 ; Matches; 54, 64 ; Mughal Pathan, 59 , Nard, 57 ; Pachisi, 54, 57 ; Races, 63 ; Shooting, 67 ; Stone-throwing, 63, Swordsmanship, 64 ; Wrestling, 62 ;

Garhmukteshwar, 101.

Gaya, 101.

Ghias-ud-Din, Mir, 61.

Goa, 38.

Gokaranhad, 138.

Gokra, 16.

Gondwana, 124.

Grose, 77.

Gujarat, 17, 30, 139.

Gulbadan Begum, 123, 155, 157.

Gulbarga, 77.

Gulistan, 132.

Gwalior, 32, 143.

Haider Mirza, 76.

Hakim-ul-Mulk. 146.

Hamida Banu, 116.

Hamilton, 50, 107, 110, 138, 143.

Hardwar, 94, 101.

Harsha, 150.

Hati Vidyalankara, 157.

Hawkins, 65, 83.

Hissar, 32.

Hora, Sunder Lal, 58.
Humayun, 3, 31, 47, 61, 76, 79, 85, 87, 88, 142, 154, 160.
Humayunnama, 123, 157.
Ibn-u-Haja, 145.
Itimad-ud-Daulāh, 83.
India, 154.

INTOXICANTS :
Betel, 49 ; *Bhadwar*, 45 ;
Bhang, 47 ; *Buza*, 47 ;
Jagre, 45 ; *Kherra*, 45 ;
Madhava-ra-peala, 46 ;
Mahwa, 45 ; *Nira*, 45 ;
Opium, 46, 47 ; *Tari*, 45 ;
Tobacco, 48 ; Tobacco duty in Delhi, 49 ;
Toddy, 45 ; Wine, prohibition of, 42, 43.

Iraq, 142.
Jahanara Begum, 123, 124, 142, 146, 155.
Jagan Mohan, 155.
Jahangir, 3, 14, 28, 31, 34, 42, 47, 48, 53, 54, 62, 64, 65, 68, 72, 74, 76. 79, 81, 83, 85, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100.
Jaimal, 113.
Jai Singh (Raja), 116, 136
Jalal Khan, 76.
Jalal-ud-Din Qazi, 139.
Jan Begum, 123.
Jaswant Singh, 116.
Jaunpur, 139.
Jayadeva, 146.
Jayasi, Malik Muhammad, 21, 104, 132.
Jodhpur, 69.
John Marshall, 72, 133.
Jotika Rai, 151.
Kabir, 136.
Kabul, 33, 65, 125.
Kalim, Mirza Abu Talib, 142, 155.
Kanchi, 101.
Karam Devi, 113.
Karhad, 135.
Kashi, 94.
Kashmir, 32, 142, 143.
Kena Bai, 124.
Khafi Khan, 154.
Khan-i-Khanan, 54.
Khatta-i-Baburi, 160.
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, 155.
Khwaja Muazzam, 116.
Kotah, 116.
Kumbh, 101.
Kurukshetra, 101.
Lahore, 16, 31, 90, 139.
Lari, Maulana Ala-ud-din, 139.
Le Blanc, 33.
Linschoten, 29, 38.
Lucknow, 143.
Madhuravani, 124.
Madhya Pradesh, 57.
Madras, 30, 143.
Madura, 77.
Mahabat Khan, 126.
Maham Anaga, 124.
Maham riduvani, 156.
Makhduma-o-Jahan, 124.
Mandelslo, 18, 38, 46, 110, 128, 130.
Manu, 133.
Manucci, 22, 24, 29, 51, 54, 63, 115.
Manrique, 31, 33, 48, 81.
Margaret, Macnicol, 156.
Masulipatam, 83.
Mathura, 77, 101.
Mathuranatha, 137.
Mathuri. 137.
Mir Ashraf, 52, 61.
Mir Kalan, 139.
Mira Bai, 124, 155.
Mithila, 135, 137.
Moreland, 32.
Muhammad Tarkhan, 152.

Mukundram, 16, 37, 51, 71, 111, 157.
Multan, 36, 48, 135, 138.
Nadia, 135, 136, 137, 148.
Nagarkot, 101.
Naharwara Pathan, 142.
Nalanda, 137.
Nanak, 15, 136.
Narnaul, 143.
Nasik, 77, 160.
Naya Darshan, 132.
Nikayas, 18.
Nizam-ud-Din, author of Tabqat, 7, 82, 146, 154.
Nizam-ud-din Auliya, 77, 102.
Nurjahan, 13, 16, 106, 125, 126, 155, 160.
Orme, 22, 110, 122.

Ornaments :—

Anklets, 24; *Antwat*, 27, 28; *Arsi*, 27; *Bahu*, 27, *Bazuband*, 26, 29; *Bhang*, 27; *Bichwah*, 27; *Binduli*, 25; Bodkin, 24; Bracelet, 28; Chain with bells, 24 ; Champakali, 15; *Chandraman*, 24; *Chauk* 24 ; *Chhudra-Khantika*, 27 ; *Children*, 24 ; *Churis*, 27, 29 ; Earrings, 21, 28 ; *Gajrah*, 27 ; *Ghunghru* 27 ; Gold-smiths, their fee, 29 ; *Guluband* 26 ; *Har* 26 ; *Jehar* 27 ; *Kangan* 27 ; *Karnphul* 25 ; *Kati-Mekhala*, 24 ; *Khal Khal*, 27 ; *Kotbiladar*, 24 ; *Laung*, 26 ; *Mang*, 24 ; *Manillas*, 29 ; Material, used for, 28, 30 ; *Mor Bhantwar*, 25; *Nath*, 26, and f.n. 2 ; Necklaces, 21, 26 ; Nose-ornaments, 21 25 ; *Pail*, 27 ; *Pipal patti*, 25 ; *Sekra Shikhara*, 25; *Sisphul*, 24 ; *Vali* 25, Women's love for, 23 ; Ovington, 45, 50, 107, 127. Padumavat, 21, 132. Paithan, 135; Panini, 150 ; Panipat, 102.

Pastimes :—

Boating, 68 ; Dances, 51, 73 ; Dancing snakes, 73 ; Fairs-visiting, 77 ; Fishes, stocking of canals with, 68 ; Gambling, 93 ; Gardening, 76 ; *Jashans*, 75 ; Kite flying, 51 ; Music, 73-74 ; Recitations (Poetic), 75 ; Riding, 69 ; Riddle Solving, 76 ; Smoking 77 ; Story-telling, 51, 75 ; Skiffing, 76 ; Theatrical performance, 74-75 ; Wit and jokes, 76 ;

Pelsaert, 16, 30, 35.
Persia, 142.
Pratvagra Patanjali, 146.
Prayag, 94, 101.
Prithvi Raj, 113.
Punjab, 30, 57.
Puri, 101.
Pyrard, 158, 159.
Rafiuddin, 147.
Raghunatha, 137, 145, 146, 148.
Rai, Raghunandandasa, 138.
Rajasthan, 32.
Rajgarh, 29.
Raj Singh, 113.
Rajori, 32.
Ramabhadra, 146.
Rameshwaram, 101.
Ram Dass, 74.
Ramabhadra, 137.
Rama-bhadramba, 124.
Ramayana, 132.
Roe, Sir Thomas, 3, 28, 32, 38, 53. 154.
Ross, Sir Denison, 62.
Rupmati, 155.
Sadullah Shaikh, 143.
Safaivi, Sayyid Rafi-ud-din, 139.
Safi Shaikh, 145.
Sahibji, 125, 155.
Salima Sultana, 124, 155.
Samarkand, 33.
Samhita, 18.
Sandak Vitu, 146.
Sarkar, Jadunath, 77, 125.
Sayyid Abdullah, 144.
Sayyid Yasin, 145.
Sahahjahan, 4, 44, 74, 75, 76, 79. 85, 88, 90, 96, 97, 99, 142, 147,
Shah Shafi of Persia 54.
Shahzadpur, 158.
Shaikh Bina, 153.
Sialkot, 139, 143, 158.
Siddhanta Kaumudi, 150.

Sirhind, 102, 135, 138.
Siti-un-Nisa, 124
Stavorinus, 110.
Sunder Das, 144.
Surat, 154.
Sur Dass, 17.
Tan Sen, 74.
Tara Bai, 113, 125, 155.
Tavernier, 44, 127.
Thatta, 135, 138, 158.
Thevenot, 29, 50, 72, 87, 143, 158.
Tibet, 155.
Tirhut, 135, 138.
Tirumalamba, 124.
Tod, 113, 115.
Todah, 113.

Toilet—

Akbar's time for, 19 ; Amber, 16 ; Amber-i-ashab, 15 ; Anointing body with perfume, 18 ; Antimony for darkening eye-lashes, 22 ; *Argajah*, 17 ; Armlets, 21 ; Baldness, cure of, 14 ; Bathing, 19 ; Bathing-Houses, (*Hamams*) 19 ; Bathing procedure in *hamams*, 19, 20 ; Beards, kinds of, 20 ; Betel (to dye the lips), 17 ; Betel-chewing, 18 ; Collyrium, 17, 18, 21, 22 ; Combs, 17 ; Cocoanut oil, 16 ; Crown, decking of, 21 ; *Datan*, 18 ; Face-powders, 18 ; *Falroj*, 16 ; Fan or *chauri* carrying, 19 ; Flowers, 22 ; Garlands, 21 ; *Ghasul* (soap liquid), 14 ; Girdle, 21 ; Hair-cloth, 19 ; Hair-dressing, 18, 21, f.n. 1 p. 22 ; Hair-Dye, 14, 17 ; Hair-removing recipes, 14 ; Itar-i-Jahangiri, 16 ; Itar (Roses), 16 ; Khushbu Khana, 15 ; Lips, reddening of, 17, 21, 22 ; *Mehndi* for reddening hands and feet, 22 ; Mirror, f.n. 13, p. 17, 18, 20 ; *Missia*, 22 ; *Mosseri*, 15, 16 ; *Mukuta*, tying of, 19 ; Moustaches, 20 ; Myrobalans, 14 ; Nail-cutter, 20 ; Oils, 16 ; *Opatnah*, 14 ; *Qalams* Style of, f.n. 9, p. 20 ; Razor, 20 ; *Rumah* for tying hair, 18 ; Ribbons to tie hair, 22 ; Rules of conduct for, 18 ; *Sabas*, 15 ; Sacred thread, 21 ; Shampooing, 18 ; Sandal-wood paste, 14, 17 ; Sand-Stone for cleaning feet and soles, 19 ; Santak, 17 ; Scents, 15, 16 ; Scissors, 20 ; Sectarian marks, 19, 21 ; Shaving manners of, 20 ; Soaps, 15 ; Spangle on fore-head, 21 ; Staining of hands, 21 ; Tilak, 21 ; Tooth-gums, 17 ; Tooth-Pick, 17 ; Umbrella, 19 ; Vermilion on parting of hair, 21, 22 ; Zabad, 15 ;

Tuhfat-us-Salatin, 116.
Tulsi Dass, 132, 136.
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, 115.
Ujjain, 101.
Upanishad, 132, 137.
Varthema, 70.
Vasudeva, 137, 145.
Vedanta, 133.
Venkatanath, 147.
Vidyanidhi, Ramarudra, 137.
Vikramasila, 137.
Waman Pandit, 144.
Wajih-ud-din, 142.

Women

Administrators, 124, 125 ; Character of, 126, 127 ; Daughters inauspicious, 108 ; Domestic, training of, 111 ; Education of, 123, Early Marriages of, 111 ; Heroism of, 125 ; Infanticide, 109 ; Literary Figures, 123, 124 ; Marriages of, 111, 112, 113 ; Mediators, 121 ; Monogamy, 109, 110 ; Occupations of, 122, 123 ; Poets, 124 ; Position of, in family, 114 ; Position of, as Mother, 119-121 ; Position of, in Vedic Age, 103 ; Position of, as Widow, 117-116 ; Position of, as Wife, 113-117 ; Purdah, 82, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108 ; Sati, custom among., 118 ; Share of, in inheritance, 121, 122 ;

Yaqub Shaikh, 145, 146.
Yazd, 33.
Zeb-un-Nisa, 22, 55, 155, 157.
Zich-i-Shahjahani 152.
Zinat-un-Nisa, 156, 157.

History — Mughal age
Mughal age — History

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13/2/75